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HISTORICAL RECORD

"WHAT THOU SEEST, WRITE IN A BOOK!"—REV. 1:11.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

THE

HISTORICAL RECORD

CALDWELL COUNTY, MISSOURI.

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

volume 8 1889

Edited and Published by ANDREW JENSON.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

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No. 1.

JANUARY, 1888. 1889.

VOL. VIII.

CALDWELL COUNTY, MISSOURI.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Caldwell County, Missouri, the home of the Saints from the fall of 1836 until the spring of 1839, lies at a mean distance of 140 miles west from Hannibal and the Mississippi River, 40 miles east of St. Joseph and the Missouri River, and about 60 miles from the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, and comprises a part of the southeast portion of what is considered Northwest Missouri. Its area is 18 miles north and south, by 24 miles east and west, and comprises 432 square miles, or 276,480 acres.

The face of the county presents to the eye a most beautiful landscape, composed of about one-third timber and two-thirds prairie. The timber lies chiefly along the many streams which are well distributed through the county, while back from the low hills, which gradually slope upwards from the water-courses, are spread the graceful, billowy prairies, rich and rolling, with plenty of drainage and abundant fertility.

The streams—of which Shoal Creek, a tributary of Grand River, is the principal, flowing as it does, including its head branches, quite

through the centre of the county from west to east—add greatly to the natural value of the county. Steer, Bushby and Goose Creeks, in the western part of the county, may be considered the forming waters of Shoal Creek, and its other principal branches are Log, Long, Crab Apple and Mud Creeks on the south, and Mill, Tom, Cottonwood, Otter, Turkey and Panther Creeks on the north. Numerous branches and other small streams and springs afford an ample supply of water for stock, and, by digging, the very best of living limestone water, clear, cold and pure, can be obtained in all parts of the county at depths varying from 15 to 40 feet, or at an average depth of 20 feet.

The timber supply is ample for all purposes. Old settlers say there is more timber in the county now than when it was first settled. No farm in the county is more than four miles from plenty of good timber. Oak, elm, walnut, hickory, ash, sycamore, hard and soft maple, linn or linden, coffee bean, hackberry, cottonwood, box elder and other varieties of trees abound in the bottoms, and on the elevated lands bor-

dering the streams, furnishing a full supply of lumber and timber for building, and fuel for domestic purposes.

No other county in this portion of Missouri is more fortunately situated. The soil is highly fertile. There is a great abundance of building stone, unsurpassed in quality—of the kind technically known as incrinital limestone—which is easy accessible, and can be quarried without difficulty. There are also two or more quarries of sandstone. Good brick clay can be obtained in all parts of the county.

The coal deposit underlies a large part of the surface of the county, at a distance of about 300 feet from the surface, and is mined extensively near Hamilton. It has also been found near Kingston, Breckenridge, Polo and Far West, showing that its existence is general throughout the county. This coal is of the very best quality, burns to a fine white ash, without clinkers or cinders of any sort, and the Hamilton mine now in operation can not supply the demand though worked to its fullest capacity.

The soil of Caldwell County is remarkable alike for its high fertility, and the versatility of its productive qualities. On the prairies it is a deep, black vegetable mould, from 15 to 40 inches in depth, with an open, porous subsoil which quickly absorbs moisture, and in most places is underlaid by limestone deposit, producing a warm, quick soil, which wears under successive crops for years without manuring or without any perceptible diminution of its productive qualities. Thirty and forty successive crops of corn have been raised on farms in this county,

and by subsoiling or deep cultivation the last crop has been made to yield more than the first or second.

The grasses, both native and domestic, are remarkable for their rank and heavy growth. This county, as well as other parts of northwest Missouri, is the natural home of the blue grass and supplants the native prairie grass as it passes away. The timothy meadows are unsurpassed and yield from one and a half to two and a half tons per acre, being of a thrifty growth on the highest prairies as well as in the bottoms. Red and white clover both make a rich and strong growth and are largely grown. Corn, the staple grain production, oats, rye, millet and Hungarian are certain crops. Corn yields from 35 to 85 bushels per acre, oats 25 to 60, rye 15 to 30, millet and Hungarian 12 to 40, the last two, as grass, producing three to five tons per acre. An excellent quality of winter wheat is raised, when properly cultivated, and is almost a certain crop, yielding from 12 to 30 bushels per acre. Fruit growing in Caldwell County, as in other parts of northwest Missouri, is a success. Fine orchards of the apple, peach and cherry can be seen in full bearing in all parts of the county. The pear and plum do well, while but few portions of the United States, if any, are better adapted to grape culture. The smaller fruits, such as strawberry, blackberry, raspberry, gooseberry and currant of the finest quality seldom fail, and only require cultivation to insure their production.

As a stock growing county none is better adapted to this pleasant and profitable business than Caldwell County. Its closeness to markets, mild winters, ample supply of good

water, nutritious grasses for hay and grazing purposes, and its certain grain crops, make this county the stock-grower's paradise. Some of the largest flocks and herds of blooded sheep and cattle in the State can be seen in Caldwell County. It has also been noted as a prominent sheep-raising and wool growing county.

The population in Caldwell County, in 1838, when the Saints occupied it, must have been about 8,000, but in 1840, a year after the Saints had been expelled, it was only 1,458. The population in 1850 was 2,316; in 1860, 5,034; in 1870, 11,390, and in 1880, 13,646, of whom 413 were negroes. The county is divided into 12 townships, the population of which in 1880 were as follows: Breckenridge Township, 1,704; Davis, 932; Fairview, 890; Gomer, 881; Grant, 1,044; Hamilton, 2,004; Kidder, 1,119; Kingston, 1,509; Lincoln, 896; Mirabile, 900; New York, 988, and Rockford, 779. The population of its principal towns and villages at present is about as follows: Hamilton, 1,500; Breckenridge, 1,000; Kingston, the county seat, 500; Kidder, 300; Mirabile, 150; Polo, 100; Nettleton, 100; Proctorville, 75, and Catawba, 50. At present the wealth of the county is valued at about ten million dollars. The taxes are very low compared with other parts of Missouri.

The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railway passes through the northern and a branch of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway through the southern part of the county. The latter has recently been built.

HISTORY.

Ray County, Missouri, of which Caldwell County originally formed a part, was organized Nov. 16, 1820.

For many years afterwards the territory now comprised within the county of Caldwell was unsettled. A few Indians, roving and migratory, from time to time made their camp along Shoal Creek and the other streams of the county, and "bee hunters" and explorers passed through on their way to the honey trees of what is now Daviess and Livingston Counties. Up to about 1830 the prairies of Caldwell and Clinton abounded in droves of fine, fat elk, and the hunters of the settlements along the Missouri, in Ray and Clay, often came up to chase them. Elk hunting was rare sport. The animals were usually chased into the timber, where some men were in ambush, and where the long branching antlers of the bucks so impeded their flight through brush and thicket, that it was an easy matter to come upon them and shoot them down.

Hunters and explorers, therefore, visited the present area of Caldwell prior to 1830, and the locality was well known to the settlements in the lower portion of Ray, about Richmond, Bluffton, and on Crooked River. But the locality was not favorably known. Everybody said there was too much prairie, for at that time there was a general belief that prairie soil would be unproductive, and when reduced to cultivation, would be too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer.

At last, however, in the winter of 1830-31, a Ray County settler by the name of Jesse Mann determined to make his home on upper Shoal Creek, where there was plenty of timber, water and game for him. He came up from Ray County in the spring of 1831, and built the first house and became the first settler in

what is now Caldwell County. He located on a quarter section half a mile northeast of the present public square of Kingston. When Jesse Mann first came to Shoal Creek, there was not a white settler between him and British America, so far as is now known, but some months later a few families located on Grand River, near the centre of what is now Daviess County. In the early summer of 1831 Jesse Mann induced two other Ray County settlers (John Raglan and Ben. Lowell) to join him in settling the Shoal Creek country, and in July, 1831, Jesse M. Mann settled on Log Creek, half a mile southeast of Kingston. The two Manns and John Raglan were probably the only families living in the county at the beginning of 1832, as Ben. Lowell had returned to Ray County. In 1832-1835 a number of adventurous settlers began to push into the new country, among whom was Jacob Haun, who built a mill on Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of the county. (See *Haun's Mill Massacre*.) But a number of these early settlers became discouraged, and sought homes in other parts of the country, so that in the fall of 1836, when the Saints first settled Far West, there were only seven men in that part of Ray County which now is included in Caldwell, and these were bee hunters, who, having exhausted the honey of that region, were about to desert the place.

At the time the Saints were requested to leave their homes in Clay County, the whole northern part of Missouri was very thinly settled, and but few counties organized. As it was desirable on the part of the Saints to obtain a location, where they would be the principal settlers

and occupants of the lands, where they would be free from the injustice and violence of mobs, and where they might quietly gather together the brethren and teach them to observe the principles of truth in the Gospel of Christ, that they might be prepared in all things for the redemption of Zion, upper Missouri, with its boundless prairies, wooded streams, and sparse population, seemed admirably adapted for the home of the Saints until Zion should be redeemed. W. W. Phelps and others had traveled through it, and had described it to the Church some time before. It was recommended to the attention of the Saints by their influential friends in Clay County, and so the month of September, 1836, found a number of the Saints settling on Shoal Creek. They soon petitioned for an enactment organizing a new county, which was granted. The new county was organized on the 26th of December 1836, and was named Caldwell, with the county seat at Far West.

The History of Caldwell County, by the National Historical Company, says in reference to the organization of the county and its early history:

"In December, 1836, just prior to the organization of Caldwell, its territory was included in the municipal townships of Shoal Creek and Grand River, in Ray County. Grand River Township, among other territory, in what is now Livingston and Daviess Counties, embraced what are now the municipal townships of Davis, Fairview and Breckenridge, or the east six miles (range 26) of Caldwell County.

"When the Mormon leaders had determined upon the occupation of this portion of Missouri, certain public men of the State thought they had discovered an easy and satisfactory solution of the Mormon problem. The Mormons had already selected Far West as their principal town, and were clustering about it in considerable numbers, and at various points on lower Shoal Creek.

They seemed well enough pleased with the county, and were coming in by bands and companies every week.

"Let us fix up a county expressly for the Mormons," exclaimed certain of the politicians and public men. "Let us send all the Mormons in the State to that county and induce all Gentiles therein to sell out and leave." The proposition suited every one. The Gentiles said, "If the Mormons are willing to go into that prairie country and settle, let them have it and welcome." The Mormons said, "If we may be allowed to remain peaceably and enjoy our religion, we will go into any country that may be set apart for us, no matter how wild and unbroken it may be, and we will make it to blossom as the rose. If we obtain political control of a county, we will honestly administer it and be loyal in all things to the State government over us."

"Arrangements were soon made. Every Gentile in the proposed new county that could be induced to sell his possessions at a reasonable price was bought out, and his place taken by a Mormon. The authorities of the Church agreed that no Mormons should settle in any other county without the previous consent of the settlers already there. * * *

"Hon. Alex. W. Doniphan, then a representative elect from Clay County, had been the leader, if not the proposer of the scheme, and to him was assigned the work of preparing and introducing into the legislature the act organizing the new counties and of pressing the bill to a passage. Fearing that a separate bill to organize the 'Mormon County' might be defeated, General Doniphan incorporated that proposition in the bill to organize the other county, and early in the month of December, introduced the measure, which soon passed without much opposition. Following is a copy of the important provisions of the act organizing Caldwell and Daviess Counties:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows: 1. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct county, to be called the county of Caldwell, to wit: Beginning at a point where the township line dividing townships 54 and 55 intersects the range line dividing ranges 25 and 26; thence north along said range line to the division line between townships 57 and 58; thence west along said line to the division line between ranges 29 and 30; thence south along said line to the division line between townships 54 and 55; thence east along said line to the point of beginning.

"2. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct coun-

ty, to be called the county of Daviess, in honor of Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe, to wit: Beginning at the northeast corner of the county of Caldwell, as fixed by this act; thence north 24 miles; thence west 24 miles; thence south to the northwest corner of Caldwell County; thence east along the north boundary line of said county to the place of beginning.

"3. Joseph Baxter, of the county of Clay, Cornelius Gillium, of the county of Clinton, and Wm. W. Mangee, of the county of Ray, are hereby appointed commissioners to select a seat of justice for each of said counties; and the said commissioners * * * shall meet on the first Monday in April next, at the house of Francis McGuire, in Caldwell County, for the purpose of selecting and locating the permanent seat of justice of said county; * * * the said commissioners shall, as soon as convenient, proceed to Daviess County, for the purpose of selecting and locating a seat of justice for said county. * * *

"This act to be in force from after its passage.

"Approved December 26, 1836.

"As stated to the writer by Gen. Doniphan himself, in the summer of 1835, the origin of the names of the two counties were as follows: Gen. Doniphan's father, Joseph Doniphan, was a soldier of the Revolution, and one of the pioneers that accompanied Daniel Boone to Kentucky. In the latter State he belonged to a company of Indian scouts and fighters, commanded by Capt. Matthew (?) Caldwell. Of this Capt. Caldwell, Gen. Doniphan often heard his father speak as a brave and gallant soldier, and a skillful Indian fighter. Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who was killed under Gen. Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana, in 1811, was also an acquaintance and friend of Mr. Doniphan. When Gen. Doniphan drew up the bill for the organization of the two new counties, he named one of them for Col. Daviess, and the other Caldwell, in honor of his father's old captain. Caldwell County, Kentucky, was also named for Capt. Caldwell." * * *

"It was during the summer of 1836, that the Mormons began their settlement of the county in earnest. It was then a portion of Ray, but the people of the northern portion of that county, as well as the Mormons, were informed that a new county was to be organized expressly for the occupation and general benefit of the latter. Indeed, an arrangement of that character had been made by the leaders of the Mormon Church and certain prominent Gentiles. An entire county was to be set apart as a sort of reservation for the Saints. To be sure Gentiles were not to be forbidden to enter it, but it was believed that under the circumstances few, if any, would desire to do so. The

Mormons were to have undisturbed possession of the new county; they were to hold the county offices, send a representative to the Legislature, and in return for these privileges they were not to settle in any other county save by express consent and permission, previously obtained, of two-thirds of the non-Mormon residents of the township in said county wherein they desired to make location.

"Everybody thought this a complete and satisfactory solution of the Mormon problem, which then, as often since, demanded attention and settlement. The Missourians were satisfied, because they had a poor opinion of the prairie soil of the proposed new county, which they declared was fit only for Mormons and Indians, and doubted whether it could ever be made really valuable. * * * The Mormons were satisfied, because they wished for peace and security and desired above all to enjoy their religion undisturbed and undismayed.

"Very soon in the summer and fall of 1836 the Mormons left Ray and Clay Counties, and pushed up into the new Canaan, which had been reported upon by Phelps and Whitmer, and which when visited was found to be equal to the representations made of it. A few Gentile settlers were found, but nearly all of them were bought out—all who would sell. Nothing could have been fairer or more equitable than the acquisition of the territory afterward called Caldwell County by the Mormons.

"The leading authorities and shining lights of the Mormon Church came up with the emigration to the new country. There were W. W. Phelps, Bishop Edward Partridge, Sidney Rigdon, David Whitmer, Elias Higbee, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery and others. In time came Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Thos. B. Marsh, George M. Hinkle and others.

"In December, 1836, the county of Caldwell was organized, a measure of much importance to the Mormons. The county seat was located at Far West, and courts held in the school house. Justices of the peace were appointed in the different townships and all the political machinery of the county was controlled by the Mormons. The militia of the county, all or nearly all Mormons, organized and mustered, and a regiment was formed under the laws of the State, of which either 'General' George M. Hinkle or Lyman Wight was colonel.

"Settlements were made up and down Shoal Creek, and thickly along the southern tier of townships of the county. Mills were

built, shops were opened, stores established, and the foundations for a thrifty and successful community were securely laid. Emigrants came in from Ohio and other States, but chiefly from the Mormon colony at Kirtland, Ohio, while the Saints in Ray and Clay and elsewhere in Missouri joined their brethren in Caldwell as soon as they could do so.

"By the summer of 1838, the population of the county was about 5,000, of whom it is safe to say, 4,900 were Mormons. All of what were considered valuable lands for settlement were taken in one form or other—either 'squatted' upon or entered at the land office in regular form. The most desirable locations in Caldwell having been taken, the Mormon settlement extended into other counties. In the spring of 1838 quite a detachment went up into Daviess, and by written permission of the few Gentile settlers there made locations in that county. Four miles above Gallatin, on the east bluffs of Grand River, they laid out a town which they called Adam-ondi-Ahman. * * * Some of the Mormons located at Gallatin and elsewhere throughout the county. Over in Clinton County there were perhaps 50 Mormon families in 1838 (?). Down in Carroll County, at De Witt, on the Missouri, in the spring of 1838, Gen. Geo. M. Hinkle and John Murdock, as trustees for the Mormons, purchased the town site, laid it off into lots, and soon a thriving village of one hundred houses was built. De Witt was designed to be a steamboat landing and a point from which goods and immigrants could be forwarded to Caldwell County.

"It is claimed that all the Mormon settlements outside of this county were made with the prior consent of the inhabitants then living where the settlements were made; the consent was obtained, in nearly every instance, by the payment of money, either for the lands of the pioneer Gentiles or for some articles of personal property they owned. Money was scarce at that day, and although the pioneers did not approve Mormon doctrines, they did approve of Mormon gold and silver, and they were willing to tolerate the one if they could obtain the other. But afterward certain of the Gentiles claimed that the Mormon occupation had been by stealth and fraud. * * *

"By far the majority of the Mormon settlers in this quarter were poor. Many of them were able to enter and improve but 40 acres of land, and nearly all their houses were cabins. Like other pioneers they had come to the country to better their condition; to worship as they pleased, and to be

with their brethren, were of course considerations. Every head of family was guaranteed a home, and if he was unable to buy one it was given him from the lands held by the trustees of the Church. Among so many, however, there could but be those of some wealth, as well as craftsmen of various kinds, mechanics and artisans. There were also many persons of education and accomplishments. School teachers were plenty and schools were numerous.

"Among the many preachers and 'elders' were some eloquent and accomplished speakers."

The above extracts, although from a non-Mormon source, must be considered a fair statement of the early doings of the Saints in Caldwell County, and contain several items not found in the general history of the Church.

The first settlement of the Saints in the vicinity of Far West was made in September, 1836. By July, 1837, about one hundred houses had been erected. (See *Far West*.) On Monday, July 3, 1837, the weather being clear and beautiful, more than fifteen hundred Saints assembled in Far West, on the site previously chosen for the erection of a Temple, and at half past 8 o'clock in the morning, after prayer, singing and an address, they proceeded to break the ground for such a building. An excavation, 110 feet long and 80 feet wide, was nearly finished on that day. The spirit of God was poured out in a great measure upon the assembled Saints, who rejoiced exceedingly. On the following day a large meeting was held in the open prairie (no meeting house having as yet been erected at Far West), and several Missourians were baptized. On that day, also, the school section of land was sold at auction, and although entirely a prairie it sold, on a year's credit, for from \$3.50 to \$10 20 per acre, making their school

fund \$5,070. Other lands near the town sold for \$10 an acre at that time.

In September, 1837, the Church at Kirtland, Ohio, appointed Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to seek out new places for the gathering of the Saints, and lay off other Stakes of Zion. On this mission Joseph and Sidney arrived at Far West in the latter part of October. On the 6th of November a council of the Priesthood was called, at which it was decided that there was sufficient room in Far West and vicinity for the gathering of the Saints from abroad. The council also voted to petition the trustees of the town corporation to alter the streets of Far West, so as to make each block contain four acres of ground, and each block to be divided into four lots. It was decided, also, that the building of the Lord's House at Far West should be postponed until further revelation was received concerning it.

At a general conference held in Far West, Nov. 7, 1837, the several quorums of the Priesthood were set in order. David Whitmer was sustained as President of the Church in Missouri, and John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were chosen as assistant Presidents. The following named brethren were sustained as members of the High Council: John Murdock, Solomon Hancock, Elias Higbee, Calvin Bebee, John M. Hinkle, Thos. Grover, Simeon Carter, Newel Knight, George M. Hinkle, Levi Jackman, Elisha H. Groves and Lyman Wight. It was also voted that Edward Partridge should continue to act as Bishop, and Isaac Morley and Titus Billings were chosen as his Counselors. John Correll was

appointed keeper of the Lord's storehouse. The congregation voted unanimously not to support stores and shops, selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco. On the same occasion, Sidney Rigdon, in the closing prayer, dedicated the land for the gathering of the Saints, and their inheritances.

At a general meeting held in Far West, Nov. 10, 1837, it was voted to enlarge the town of Far West, so that it would contain four sections—two square miles. On that occasion twenty-three Elders volunteered to go out to preach the Gospel. About this time the Prophet Joseph left Missouri to return to Ohio, having succeeded in setting things in order generally, and been the means of adjusting a number of difficulties which had existed between some of the brethren in Missouri.

Not long after the Prophet's departure a spirit of speculation, especially in lands, began to manifest itself among the Saints in Missouri, and a number of the Elders in high positions, prominently among whom were John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps, were seduced by this spirit, which proved ruinous to their faith, destroyed their influence, and led them into serious transgressions. On the 5th of February, 1838, the whole Church in Missouri, under the leadership of Thomas B. Marsh, Lyman Wight and David W. Patten, met as a committee of the whole and preferred serious charges of wickedness against the three Presidents (David Whitmer, John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps) and refused to sustain them in their offices. When the vote was put a large majority voted against the Presidency, which consequently was rejected. A few days

later (Feb. 10th) Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten were chosen to act as temporary Presidents of the Church in Missouri until Presidents Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon should arrive from Kirtland. The former Presidency, however, refused to acknowledge the action taken against them, and continued to sign documents as Presidents of the Church. This was one of the causes which led to the final excommunication of these men from the Church. John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were excommunicated by the High Council at Far West March 10, 1838, Oliver Cowdery on April 12th and David Whitmer on April 13th following. About the same time Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton, three of the Twelve Apostles, were cut off, and on May 11th following, a similar fate befell Wm. E. McLellan, another of the Twelve.

In the meantime the Prophet Joseph, who was forced to flee from Kirtland to save his life (see page 435) arrived in Missouri. Accompanied by Brigham Young, Daniel S. Miles and Levi Richards, he reached Far West March 14, 1838. Sidney Rigdon arrived on the 4th of April following.

April 6, 1838, the eighth anniversary of the Church was celebrated by the holding of a general conference at Far West, over which the Prophet Joseph presided. On that occasion Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young and David W. Patten were sustained as Presidents of the Church in Missouri; Ebenezer Robinson was called to act as Church clerk and recorder for Far West and also as clerk of the High Council. George W. Robinson was sustained

as General Church Recorder and clerk to the First Presidency.

July 4, 1838, was a memorable day in the history of Far West. The Saints had long been vexed by their enemies. They had seen their homes destroyed, their helpless women and children driven into the wilderness by cruel mobs, when the exiles could be traced by the blood left in their tracks. They had been robbed of their possessions and maltreated in their persons until they were driven almost to desperation. They took advantage therefore of Independence day to declare their intentions no more to quietly submit to the outrages perpetuated against them. Joseph Smith was president of the day; and his brother Hyrum vice-president; Sidney Rigdon, orator; and Reynolds Cahoon, chief marshal. They marched in procession through the town, and at last formed a circle around the Temple excavation in the public square; and there, with appropriate ceremonies they laid the corner stones of the House of the Lord at Far West, followed by speeches, music, prayers, reading the Declaration of Independence, etc. Sidney Rigdon, orator of the day, stirred with indignation in contemplating the sufferings the Saints had endured, perhaps allowed his eloquence to carry him beyond the limits of calm wisdom, and many of the words spoken by him on that occasion, though corrected by the Prophet Joseph, were made use of by the enemies of the Church, to the injury of the Saints.

The Church printing office in Kirtland having been destroyed by fire, another press, type and necessary printing material was purchased and a printing office established in Far

West, where the third number of the *Elders' Journal*, a monthly paper previously published in Kirtland, was issued in July, 1838. Joseph Smith was editor and Thos. B. Marsh printer and publisher.

In the meantime Far West grew rapidly and it could already boast of nearly 3,000 inhabitants, while smaller settlements were founded and flourished in various parts of Caldwell County. Adam-ondi-Ahman, in Daviess County, about 25 miles northeast, and De Witt, about 50 miles southeast of Far West, in Carroll County, were also being built up by the arrival of Saints from Ohio, Canada and other places. Altogether the Saints increased steadily by immigration and baptisms until they numbered about 12,000 souls in Caldwell and surrounding counties.

The rapid increase of the Saints in upper Missouri soon began to alarm the other settlers, who were composed of the same elements as that formerly constituting the mob in Jackson County. In fact, some of the old Jackson County mobbers had removed to Daviess County and they were eagerly watching for the first opportunity that might present itself to renew their operations against the Saints and once more drive them from their homes.

Aug. 6, 1838, at an election held in Gallatin, Daviess County, the Missourians attempted to prevent the brethren who lived in that neighborhood from voting, which resulted in a serious fight, at which the Missourians were worsted. (See page 592.) Conflicting reports of this fight reaching Far West, Joseph Smith and a number of other brethren rode up from that town to inquire into the cause of the difficu-

ties, and on their way they also visited Adam Black, a justice of the peace, in Daviess County, who gave them a written document expressive of his pretended peaceable intentions. The next day (Aug. 9th) a peace meeting was held in Adamondi-Ahman, at which both the "Mormons" and Missourians entered into a solemn agreement to preserve each other's rights and stand in each other's defense. (See pages 441 and 46.)

Joseph's friendly visit to Daviess County, however, were taken advantage of by his enemies, who falsely accused him and his friends of threatening Justice Black's life, etc. Consequently a charge was trumped up against him, and on the morning of Aug. 13, 1838, the sheriff of Daviess County and Judge Morin called on Joseph at Far West and informed him that they had a writ for his arrest. Joseph expressed his willingness to be tried, but as the people of Daviess County were very much exasperated at him, he wished to be tried in his own county, and the laws gave him that right. At this the sheriff refused to serve the warrant, and he said he would see Judge King about it. Joseph agreed to remain at home until his return; which he did. On his return the sheriff informed Joseph that he was out of his jurisdiction.

From this circumstance, however, the report went out that Joseph and Lyman Wight had resisted the officer and defied the law, and immediately after mobs began to gather from eleven counties of Upper Missouri into Daviess County, for the purpose, as they said, of helping to take Joseph and Lyman Wight. The excitement soon brought Governor

Boggs to the front—the man who, when the Saints were whipped, plundered, murdered and finally wounded and bleeding, were driven from Jackson County, stood by and lent the influence of his official position to the unlawful and ungodly acts of the cruel mob. He was then the lieutenant-governor, now he was the governor of the State. Hiding his real intentions under the pretence of fearing Indian disturbances, Governor Boggs, on Aug. 30, 1838, sent an order to Gen. David R. Atchison, 3rd division of the Missouri militia, ordering him to raise within the limits of his division 400 mounted men, armed and equipped as infantry or riflemen, to be held in readiness to quell disturbances arising either from the excitement concerning the Mormon troubles or Indian outbreaks.

In order to show his willingness to honor the law, Joseph, under the counsel of Gen. Atchison, under whom and Gen. Doniphan, Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were studying law, volunteered to be tried for going armed into Daviess County before the circuit judge, Austin A. King. The judge was notified of Joseph's action, and the place selected for trial was at the house of a Brother Littlefield, about fifteen miles north of Far West, where the little village of Winstown is now located. Sept. 6th was fixed as the day of trial, but as the plaintiff, Wm. P. Peniston, failed to put in an appearance, the trial was postponed until the next day (Sept. 7th), to take place at the house of a Mr. Raglin, one of the chief mobocrats. The result of the trial was that Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight were bound over in a \$500 bond to appear at the next session of the district court;

though Judge King afterwards said, nothing worthy of bonds had been proven against them.

The leaders of the mob had sent out representatives into the surrounding counties, asking the people to join them in driving the "Mormons" from the State. They were usually successful in getting assistance, but when the people of Chariton County were appealed to, they determined to proceed carefully, and very wisely sent two delegates to Caldwell and Daviess Counties, to make inquiries as to the cause of the excitement. These men were at Joseph's trial before Judge King, and at its close accompanied him and his party to Far West, where the information they received convinced them that there was no occasion for the people of Chariton County to join with the surrounding counties in an effort to drive the Saints from their homes. Chariton County is due east of Caldwell, with Carroll and Livingston Counties intervening.

The whole country was in a state of intense excitement, and so many wild rumors were afloat, that it was difficult to determine just what the situation was. The brethren, however, were very active in moving from point to point, wherever there was a threatened attack upon the Saints. Hearing on Sept. 9th that a wagon load of arms and ammunition was *en route* from Richmond, Ray County, to the mob, infesting the vicinity about Adam-ondi-Ahman, Captain Wm. Allred took a company of ten mounted men and started to intercept them. They found the wagon broken down, and the boxes of guns concealed near the road-side in the tall grass; but no one was in sight. Shortly afterwards they saw

moving over the prairie, from the direction of the mobber's camp, two horsemen and behind them a third man driving a team. These parties came up to the broken-down wagon and were arrested by Captain Allred, by virtue of a writ he held for them issued by the civil authorities of Caldwell County. The prisoners and the guns were taken to Far West, and after an examination before Albert Petty, justice of the peace, on the 10th they were held to bail for their appearance at the next term of the circuit court. The names of these parties were J. B. Comer, held as principal, and Wm. L. McHoney and Allen Miller, as in the employ of Comer, who was guilty of furnishing a mob with arms for an illegal purpose. Judge King was informed of the arrest of these men and the arms, and his advice was asked as to what disposal should be made of the prisoners. He replied that the prisoners must be turned loose and treated kindly. He had no advice to give about the guns, and was at a loss to know how to account for them being in the possession of Comer, as they belonged to the government, and had been in the custody of Captain Pollard, living in the vicinity of Richmond. The guns were distributed among the brethren to be used in self-defense. On the 12th the prisoners were delivered up to Gen. A. W. Doniphan; and 42 stands of the firearms were also collected and delivered to him.

The mob took a number of the brethren prisoners, and sent word to Far West and other settlements that they were torturing them in the most inhuman manner, by this means seeking to provoke the Saints to some act of cruelty upon those of their

enemies that might fall into their power, that thus the mob might have an excuse for butchering the Saints, or driving them from the State.

The governor heard and all parts of the State were flooded with the vilest falsehoods about the "Mormon" atrocities and cruelties which never occurred until a bitter prejudice was manufactured against them, and people generally believed the "Mormons" were capable of all the crimes known to hardened, sinful wretches; and that they were unfit to live.

In the meantime the militia that Governor Boggs had ordered to be got in readiness, was mustered into service. Under the direction of General Doniphan six companies of fifty men each were collected and armed from the militia of Clay County, and at once marched into the vicinity of Adam-ondi-Ahman. Here Doniphan found the citizens of Daviess and surrounding counties to the number of two or three hundred men under arms, and commanded by Dr. Austin, from Carroll County. They claimed to have collected solely for the purpose of defending the people of Daviess County against the "Mormons." Doniphan read to them the order of his superior officer, General Atchison, to disperse. But this they refused to do.

"I had an interview," said Doniphan, "with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they (Austin's men) still continued under arms, marching and counter-marching."

The general also visited the encampment of the brethren under the command of Colonel Lyman Wight. Doniphan's report says: "We held

a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband, and surrender up to me every one of the Mormons accused of crime; and required in return that the hostile forces collected by the other citizens of the county should also disband."

As they refused to obey the order to disband, the safety of the brethren and their families required that they should continue under arms; and General Doniphan took up a position between the two opposing forces, at a point $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Adam-ondi-Ahman, hoping that if the parties were kept apart, in a few days they would disband without coercion.

On the 15th General Atchison arrived with a body of militia from Ray County. He at once ordered the citizens from the surrounding counties to repair to their respective homes, a movement they began to make with many signs of reluctance. But about one hundred of them did obey the order. Atchison reported to Governor Boggs under date of Sept. 17th that he had received assurance from the "Mormons" that all those accused of a violation of the laws would be in for trial the very day on which his report was dated; "and," says the report, "when that is done, the troops under my command will be no longer required in this county, if the citizens of other counties will retire to their respective homes."

A day or two after this report, Atchison succeeded in disbanding the mob forces; and the brethren, against whom charges were trumped up, appeared before a court of inquiry and entered into bonds to appear at the next session of the circuit court. This much having been accomplished,

Atchison thought it no longer needful to keep his whole force of militia in the field; hence he dismissed all his forces except two companies, which were left in the vicinity, under the command of Brigadier-General H. G. Parks. In reporting these latter movements, to the governor, Sept. 20th, Atchison says in conclusion:

"The Mormons of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-ondi-Ahman, and they are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skilful, and I may add, a desperate man; they appear to be acting on the defensive, and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the Mormons and the prisoners were also given up upon demand with cheerfulness."

The forces then which had been called out by order of General Atchison were disbanded, except the two companies that were left under the command of General Parks. Parks and these men remained in the vicinity of Adam-ondi-Ahman, watching both "Mormons" and Gentiles, assisting in serving civil process, and reporting occasionally to his superior officers. In a report which Parks made to Governor Boggs, on the 25th of September, occurs the following:

"Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called Mormons, before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance, they have shown no disposition to resist the law or of hostile intentions. There has been so much prejudice, and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here, we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining, armed and in the field, for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities."

In the meantime, a committee of old citizens had agreed to meet with

a committee appointed by the Saints in Daviess County, for the purpose of making arrangements for either buying or selling the property of the Saints, or of selling theirs to the brethren. Speaking of this committee in a postscript to the above report, Parks says:

"I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the Mormons with powder and lead."

Two days later than the date of Parks' report, General Atchison wrote to the Governor, saying:

"The force under General Parks is deemed sufficient to execute the laws and keep the peace in Daviess County. Things are not so bad in that county as represented by rumor, and in fact from affidavits. I have no doubt your Excellency has been deceived by the exaggerated statements of designing or half crazy men. I have found there is no cause of alarm on account of the Mormons; they are not to be feared; they are very much alarmed."

These statements, accompanied by the former statements of Atchison and Doniphan, which said the "Mormons" were only acting on the defensive, and had surrendered the arms they had taken from the mob, together with the prisoners, with promptness and cheerfulness, prove that the Saints were only acting on the defensive and that their collecting and arming was merely in self-defense, and not with any desire to outrage the laws or injure the Missourians.

Dr. Austin, of Carroll County, who had commanded the mob forces about Adam-ondi Ahman, being compelled to disband his forces, at least part of them, he esteemed his force insufficient to drive out the brethren from Adam-ondi-Ahman; so he conceived the idea of striking a blow at De Witt, Carroll County, from which place the Saints, after having en-

dured great suffering, were finally driven, Oct. 11, 1838. (See pages 603-608.)

No sooner had the Saints departed from De Witt than the Presbyterian preacher, Woods, called the mob that had infe-ted that settlement together, and in a speech of frenzied hate he suggested that they proceed at once to Daviess County and assist their friends in driving the Mormons from their homes in that county, as they had already done in Carroll County. He assured them the civil authorities would not interfere to defend the "Mormons," and they could get possession of their property just as well as not. He reminded them that the land sales would soon come off, and if they could but get rid of the "Mormons" they could secure all the lands they would want. To appreciate the force of this part of the preacher's appeal to the mob, the reader must remember that the whole country was wild with land speculations, and that some of the Saints were badly tainted with it. The speech had the desired effect, and forthwith the entire body with their cannon started for Daviess County.

While these events were transpiring in Carroll County, Cornelius Gillium, who it will be remembered called upon Zion's Camp at Fishing River several years before, had been engaged in raising a mob in Platte and Clinton Counties to accomplish the same object that Parson Woods and his mob had in view. General Doniphan learned of these movements, both on the part of Gillium and Woods, and sent word to Joseph Smith that a body of 800 men were moving upon the settlement of his people in Daviess County. He gave

orders for a company of militia to be raised at Far West and marched at once into Daviess County, to defend those who were threatened until he could raise the militia in Clay and adjoining counties to put down the insurrection. Accordingly, a company of one hundred militiamen were gotten in readiness to march into Daviess County on the 15th of October. The command was given to Colonel Hinkle and started for Adam-ondi-Ahman.

After General Parks had left the vicinity of De Witt with his mutinous militia, he returned to Adam-ondi-Ahman, where he had left Colonel Thompson in command, and resumed control of affairs in that section. The mob about Adam-ondi-Ahman hearing of the fate of De Witt, and learning of the approach of that mob and the efforts of Gillium in the same direction, became bolder, and at once began to threaten the Saints and burn some of their houses and stacks of hay and grain. The house of Don Carlos Smith was burned down, after being plundered, and his wife with two helpless babes were driven out in the night. She made her way to Adam-ondi-Ahman, carrying her children and having to wade Grand River where the stream was waist deep.

The next day General Parks passed the ruins of this house, belonging to Don Carlos Smith, who was then on a mission in Tennessee, and it seemed to arouse within him a just indignation. He at once went to the house of Lyman Wight and gave him orders to call out his companies of militiamen—Wight holding a colonel's commission in the 59th regiment of the Missouri militia, commanded by General Parks—and

gave him full authority to put down mobs, wherever he should find them assembled. He said he wished it distinctly understood that Colonel Wight had full authority from him to suppress all mob violence. The company of militia that Colonel Wight raised was divided into two companies; one company, consisting of about sixty men, was placed under the command of Captain David W. Patten, and the other of about the same number was commanded by Wight in person.

Captain Patten was ordered to go to Gallatin and disperse the mobs that were reported to be in that vicinity, while Wight and his company started for Millport, a little town about seven miles southeast of Adamondi-Ahman.

When Patten's Company came in sight of Gallatin, he found a body of the mob, about one hundred strong, who were amusing themselves by mocking, and in various ways tantalizing a number of the Saints whom they had captured. Seeing the approach of Patten's men, and knowing the determination of the leader, the mob broke and ran in the greatest confusion, leaving their prisoners behind them.

On his march to Millport, Colonel Wight found the whole country deserted by the mobs which had infested it, and their houses in flames or in smouldering ruins. The mob having learned that General Parks had ordered out Wight's companies of militia, had been seized with sudden fear and swore vengeance not only upon the "Mormons" but upon Generals Parks and Doniphan as well. To accomplish this purpose, they had loaded up their most valuable personal effects and setting fire

to their log huts, they sent runners throughout the State with the lying report that the "Mormons" were burning the houses, destroying property, and murdering the old settlers.

These false rumors spread by the mob, were strengthened in the public ear by such men as Adam Black, Judge King, of Richmond, and other prominent men who were continually writing inflammatory communications to the governor. The citizens of Ray County called a public meeting and appealed to the governor to protect the people of Upper Missouri from the "Mormons," whom they termed a "fearful body of thieves and robbers." It seemed the very prince of lies and all his hosts had suddenly broken loose, and sought to overwhelm the Saints with a flood of falsehood.

It was at this particular crisis that Thomas B. Marsh, the President of the Twelve Apostles, and Orson Hyde, one of the members of the same quorum, fled to Richmond and there testified to the most wicked falsehoods, calculated to bring destruction upon their former brethren. Thomas B. Marsh made an affidavit before Henry Jacobs, a justice of the peace, at Richmond, of which the following is an extract.

"They (the Mormons) have among them a company consisting of all that are considered true Mormons, called Danites, who have taken an oath to support the heads of the Church in all things, whether right or wrong. I have heard the Prophet say that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean."

To this Marsh swore, and Hyde corroborated, saying that he knew part of it to be true, and he believed the other. Sometime after this,

when the clouds of hatred that at this time threatened the Saints with destruction had drifted away, and these men had time to reflect upon the terrible wickedness of their action, Orson Hyde, blinded with tears, came back to the people he sought to destroy, and humbly begged to be restored to his position. And having manifested a spirit of repentance, he was received back into his place, and for many years labored faithfully for the advancement of God's Kingdom. (See pages 36-38.) Thomas B. Marsh, after leading a vagabond life for years, with the brand of Judas on his brow, and the gnawing of the worm that never dies at his heart, when the Saints had weathered the storms of persecution, not only in Missouri but also in Illinois as well, and their lives had fallen in the pleasant places of the mountain valleys of Utah, he too—a mere wreck of his former self, weak, and driveling and childish, broken down in health, as also in intellect—came humbly bending to the people upon whom he had sought to bring ruin, and begged—humbly begged the privilege of ending his days in their midst. He arose in a congregation where thousands were congregated, referred to his wrecked condition, and told them it was the effect of apostasy, and warned all against walking in the path which he had trod to his infinite sorrow. His life furnishes a sad page in the history of the Latter-day Saints. (See pages 17-19.)

Since the Danites are spoken of in the statement made by Marsh and Hyde, and as many false statements have been made repeatedly, accusing the Church of having such an association, as described by Marsh

and Hyde, we here give a brief account of that organization as recorded in the history of Joseph Smith:

"While the evil spirits were raging up and down in the State to raise mobs against the 'Mormons,' Satan himself was no less busy in striving to stir up mischief in the camp of the Saints; and among the most conspicuous of his willing devotees was one Doctor Sampson Avard, who had been in the Church but a short time, and who, although he had generally behaved with a tolerable degree of external decorum, was secretly aspiring to be the greatest of the great, and become the leader of the people. This was his pride and his folly, but as he had no hopes of accomplishing it by gaining the hearts of the people in open strife, he watched his opportunity with the brethren, at a time when mobs oppressed, robbed, whipped, burned, plundered and slew, till forbearance seemed no longer a virtue, and nothing but the grace of God without measure could support men under such trials, to form a secret combination by which he might rise a mighty conqueror, at the *expense of the overthrow of the Church*; and this he tried to accomplish by his smooth, flattering and winning speeches, which he frequently made to his associates, while his room was well guarded by some of his pupils, ready to give him the wink on the approach of any one who would not approve of his measures.

"In this situation, he stated that he had the sanction of the heads of the Church for what he was about to do; and by his smiles and flattery, persuaded them to believe it, and proceeded to administer to the few under his control, an oath, binding them to everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself. Thus Avard initiated members into his band, firmly binding them, by all that was sacred, in the protecting of each other in all things that were lawful; and was careful to picture out a great glory that was then hovering over the Church, and would soon burst upon the Saints as a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and would soon unveil the slumbering mysteries of heaven, which would gladden the hearts and arouse the stupid spirits of the Saints of the latter-day, and fill their hearts with that love which is unspeakable and full of glory, and arm them with power, that the gates of hell could not prevail against them; and would often affirm to his company, that the principal men of the Church had put

him forward as a spokesman and a leader of this band, which he named *Danites*.

"Thus he duped many, which gave him the opportunity of figuring largely. He held his meetings daily, and carried on his work of craft in great haste, to prevent a mature reflection upon the matter, and had them bound under the penalties of death to keep the secrets and certain signs—which they had to know each other by, by day and night.

"After those performances, he held meetings to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, appointing a captain over each company. After this organization, he went on to teach them their duty in compliance with the orders of their captains; he then called his captains together and taught them in a secluded place, as follows:

"My brethren, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains, to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here to-day to teach you, and instruct you, in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are, and what they soon will be. Know ye not, brethren, that it soon will be your privileges to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? for it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel; and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth. For this is the very way that God destines to build up His kingdom in the last days. If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. (The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued.) Why do you startle at this, brethren? As the Lord liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian; and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up His kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him."

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"At this lecture, all of the officers revolted, and said it would not do, they should not go into any such measures, and it would not do to name any such things; 'such proceedings would be in open violation to the laws of our country, and would be robbing our fellow-citizens of their rights, and are not according to the language and doctrine of Christ, or the Church of Latter-day Saints.'

"This modern Sampson replied, and said there were no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, a dispensation of the fulness of times; 'in this dispensation I learn from the Scriptures that the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and He Himself was to reign, and His laws alone were the only laws that would exist.'

"Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all. Avard then said that they had better drop the subject; although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdon the evening before. The meeting then broke up; the eyes of those present were then opened, his craft was no longer in the dark, and but very little confidence was placed in him, even by the warmest of the members of his Danite scheme.

"When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the Church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations, but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob.

"And here let it be distinctly understood, that these companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard, were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self-defence, in case of an attack from the mob, and more particularly that in this time of alarm no family or person might be neglected, therefore, one company would be engaged in drawing wood, another in cutting it, another in gathering corn, another in grinding, another in butchering, another in distributing meat, etc., so that all should be employed in turn, and no one lack the necessities of life. Therefore, let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the Church for good and righteous purposes, with the organization of the Danites, of the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had an existence."

Captain Bogart who, it will be remembered, held a command in the militia under General Parks, both in the operations about Adam-on-di-Ahman and before De Witt, and who on each occasion manifested a determination to mutiny, and join the mob, was one of the bitterest enemies the Saints had and the most active of the mob. On the 24th of October, 1838, he, with about forty of his followers, called at the house of a brother Thoret Parsons who lived on the east branch of Log Creek southeast of Far West. He warned Parsons to leave by 10 o'clock the next day, and remarked that he expected to give Far West hell before noon the next day; provided he was successful in joining his forces with those of Niel Gillium's, who would camp that night six miles west of Far West, and that he himself should camp that night on Crooked River. A messenger was dispatched at once with this information to Far West, and Parsons followed the mob to watch their movements.

The day on which this occurred Joseph Holbrook and a brother Judith were watching the movements of a small detachment of Bogart's men, and saw eight of them enter the house of a brother by the name of Pinkham, where they took three prisoners and four horses, together with some arms and food; and warned the old gentleman Pinkham to leave the State at once, or they "would have his d—d old scalp." This detachment then started to join Bogart's main company, and Holbrook and Judith started for Far West. They arrived there near midnight and reported what they had seen in the vicinity of the mob's encampment. The blast of the trumpet

and the roll of the drum soon brought together a large crowd of men to the public square. The men had been assembled by order of Judge Higbee, and he requested Lieutenant-Colonel Hinkle to raise a company to disperse the mob and rescue the prisoners. Volunteers were called for, and in a few minutes 75 men had answered the call and were placed under the command of David W. Patten, who held a captain's commission in the State militia. The company marched about eighteen miles to a point on Crooked River in the northern part of Ray County, where they came upon Bogart's camp and put the mobbers to flight. (See pages 54-56.) In the fight David W. Patten, Gideon Carter and Patrick O'Bannion were killed and a number wounded. The loss of the mob, according to the history of Caldwell County, was Moses Rowland, killed; and Thos. H. Loyd, Edwin Odell, James Lochard, Martin Dunnaway, Samuel Tarwater and Wyatt Crawen, wounded. Tarwater received a terrible gash in the skull, through which his brain was plainly visible, one terrible blow across the face severed the jaw-bone and destroyed all the upper teeth, and there was an ugly gash made in his neck. He kept his bed for six months afterwards, and his wound considerably affected his speech and his memory. He is yet alive and resides near Orrick, Ray County. Since 1840, he has drawn a pension from the State of Missouri of \$100 per year for the wounds and disability he received in the Crooked River fight. He is said to be the only man who receives a pension from the State of Missouri.

When the mobbers scattered before the impetuous charge of Pat-

ten's men, each fellow pretended to believe that he was the only survivor left to tell the tale of their destruction.

This battle on Crooked River, though perfectly justifiable on the part of the Saints, was made the excuse for raising armies against them for their destruction. The following inflammatory and untruthful message was sent from Carrollton to the governor as a report of the fight:

"SIR:—We were informed last night by an express from Ray County, that Captain Bogart and all his company, amounting to between fifty and sixty men, were massacred at Buncombe, twelve miles north of Richmond, except three. This statement you may rely on as being true, and last night they expected Richmond to be laid in ashes this morning. We could distinctly hear cannon, and we knew the Mormons had one in their possession. Richmond is about twenty-five miles west of this place, on a straight line. We know not the hour or minute we shall be laid in ashes—our country is ruined—for God's sake give us assistance as soon as possible. Yours, etc.

SASHIEL WOODS.
JOSEPH DICKSON."

Woods will be remembered as the Presbyterian preacher who, after the fall of De Witt, called the mob together and urged them to hasten to the assistance of their friends in Daviess County, to drive the "Mormons" away from Adam-ondi-Ahman, that they might gain possession of their lands. These men say they distinctly heard cannon and they knew the "Mormons" had one. Yet these men were 37 miles from where the engagement on Crooked River occurred, and no cannon was used—and the one in possession of the Saints was only a six pounder. "These mobbers," said Joseph, "must have had very acute ears; * * * so much for the lies of a priest of this world."

One of Bogart's men fled to Rich-

mond and reported that ten of his comrades had been killed and the rest taken prisoners after many of them had been wounded; and said it was the intention of the Mormon "banditti" that night to sack and burn Richmond. Upon the reception of this lying report, C. R. Morehead was dispatched from Richmond to Lexington, a town located on the south bank of the Missouri River on the high bluffs overlooking the river, and only about eight miles south of Richmond. He begged the people of that town to come to the assistance of Richmond, and they responded by sending one hundred well armed, and according to E. M. Ryland, "daring men, the most effective our county can boast of." An express was sent from Lexington to Messrs. Amos Reese and Wiley C. Williams of Jackson County, but then *en route* for the city of Jefferson, ordering them to hurry on to that city, imparting correct (?) information to the public as they went along; and to send one of their party into Cooper, Howard and Boone Counties, in order that volunteers might be getting ready to flock to the scene of trouble as soon as possible. The letter which was dated Oct. 25, 1838, said:

"They (the volunteers before alluded to) must make haste and put a stop to the devastation which is menaced by these infuriated fanatics, and they must go prepared, and with a full determination to exterminate or expel them from the State *en masse*."

On the strength of this message Governor Boggs afterwards issued his celebrated exterminating order. Wiley C. Williams and Amos Reese had previously started for Jefferson City as special messengers to the governor to secure the banishment of the Saints from the State of Missouri.

These untruthful reports of the trouble on Crooked River were favorable to their cause, and an express was sent after them to add this falsehood to those with which they were already laden, and to wish them "God speed" in their murderous affairs. We need not say the brethren had not so much as thought of going to Richmond or acting otherwise than on the defensive.

In the meantime the messengers from those parties who had burned their own homes and destroyed their own property had reached Jefferson City, and poured into the willing ears of the executive the villainous falsehoods that the "Mormons" with an armed force had expelled the old settlers from Daviess County, pillaged and burned their dwellings, driven off their stock, and destroyed their crops. They also said that Millport and Gallatin, the county seat, were in ashes, and that all the records of the county were destroyed. Upon the reception of their falsehoods and an application from these people to be restored to their homes and protected in them, Governor Boggs set himself vigorously at work calling out militia forces to accomplish this object. We can not help pausing a moment right here to notice the difference in the action of the State authorities in two cases that would have been just alike, provided the report of those parties who fled from Daviess County, by the light of their burning homes, had been true. In 1833 our readers will remember the Saints were driven by brute force, and under circumstances the most distressing, from their possessions in Jackson County. And not only was their property destroyed, but quite a number of them

were killed, while the number that were exiled amounted to twelve hundred. The State authorities had the fullest of evidence of these outrages—in fact, the very man who at the time of the Daviess County troubles was governor of the State, was on the ground, and knew of all the circumstances of cruelty and outrage. But when those things came before the State authorities, it took more than two whole years of correspondence to come to an understanding of what could and would be done, and then the decision was that the exiles would do well to move still further on; in fact, get entirely away from the section of the country where they had made their homes, as the prejudices of the people were set against them, and that the popular sentiment in this country was *vox dei*. But now, when a mere rumor comes that the "Mormons" have been guilty of inflicting upon the Missourians the outrages which aforetime had been perpetuated against them, there is no halting on the part of the authorities, but on the contrary the most vigorous efforts put forth to punish the reputed offenders, and reinstate the supposed exiles.

Governor Boggs then began his efforts to restore these reputed exiles to their homes. He sent an order to General John B. Clark, of the first division of Missouri militia, directing him to raise two thousand men from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th divisions of the militia, to be mounted and armed as the law directs, provided with rations for 15 days, and to rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, about eighty miles southeast of Far West, by the 3rd of November.

This order was dated Oct. 26, 1838.

The next day, however, Amos Reese and Wiley C. Williams arrived in Jefferson City with their false report of the battle on Crooked River, and Governor Boggs changed his orders to General Clark the same day. This letter is Boggs' exterminating order dated Oct. 27, 1838. He said to General Clark:

"Since the order of the morning to you,
* * * I have received by Amos Reese, Esq., and Wiley C. Williams, one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary."

The governor also ordered Major General Wallock, of Marion County, to raise 500 men, and join General Doniphan, of Clay County, who had been directed to raise a like number of men, and together they were to proceed to Daviess County to cut off the retreat of the "Mormons" to the north. General Parks had been ordered to raise four hundred men and join Clark at Richmond, and thus the campaign was planned. The troops were not to reinstate the supposed exiles of Daviess County in their homes and protect them, but they were to operate directly against the "Mormons"—in fact, make war upon them—exterminate them or drive them from the State.

Up to this time Major-General Atchison had apparently exercised his influence counseling moderation in dealing with the "Mormons." He was

a resident of Clay County when the "Mormons" were driven into that county from Jackson. He, with General Doniphan and Amos Reese, had acted as counsel for the exiles, and had seen the doors of the temple of justice closed in their faces by mob violence, and all redress denied them. He was acquainted with the circumstances which led to their removal from Clay County to the unsettled prairies of what afterwards became Caldwell County. He knew how deep and unreasonable the prejudices were against the Saints, and no doubt also knew how utterly unjustifiable the present movement against them was. But whether he was blinded by the false reports about Millport, Gallatin and Crooked River, or whether his courage faltered, and he became afraid longer to defend a people against whom every man's hand was raised, we find him joining with that arch scoundrel S. D. Lucas in the following communication to Governor Boggs:

"SIR:—From late outrages committed by the Mormons, civil war is inevitable. They have set the laws of the country at defiance and are in open rebellion. We have about two thousand men under arms to keep them in check. The presence of the commander-in-chief is deemed absolutely necessary, and we most respectfully urge that your excellency be at the seat of war as soon as possible.

Your most obedient, etc.

DAVID R. ATCHISON, M. G. 3rd Div.
SAMUEL D. LUCAS, M. G. 4th Div."

General Atchison, however, was afterwards "dismounted," to use a word of General Doniphan's in relating the incident, and sent back to Liberty, in Clay County, by special order of Governor Boggs, on the ground that he was inclined to be too merciful to the "Mormons." So that he was not active in the operations

about Far West. But how he could consent to join with Lucas in sending such an untruthful and infamous report to the governor about the situation in Upper Missouri, is difficult to determine. The Saints had not set the laws at defiance, nor were they in open rebellion. But when all the officers of the law refused to hear their complaints, and both civil and military authority delivered them into the hands of merciless mobs to be plundered and outraged at their brutal pleasure, and all petitions for protection at the hands of the governor had been answered with, "It is a quarrel between the Mormons and the mob, and they must fight it out," nothing was left for the Saints to do but to arm themselves and stand in the defence of their homes and families? Don't for one moment suppose that in making this statement we admit the Saints had defied the laws of the country, for it was not so. The movement on Gallatin by Captain Patten and that on Millport by Colonel Wight was ordered by General Parks who called upon Colonel Wight to take command of his company of men, when the militia under Parks' command mutinied, and disperse all mobs wherever he found them. Gallatin was not burned by the Saints; nor were the records of the county court, if they were destroyed at all, destroyed by the Saints. What houses were burned in Millport had most likely been set on fire by the mob. The expedition to Crooked River was ordered by Judge Higbee, the first judge in Caldwell County and the highest civil authority in Far West, and was undertaken for the purpose of dispersing a mob which had threatened "to give Far West hell before

noon the next day." So that in their operations the acts of the Saints had been strictly within the law, and only in self-defence.

The mob forces were gathering from all quarters to destroy Far West. Niel Gillium was in the west urging the citizens to drive the "Mormons" from the State. Lucas and Wilson, who were active leaders of the mob which expelled the Saints from Jackson County, were collecting those same mob forces; while General Clark was in the south raising companies of men to carry out the exterminating order of Governor Boggs.

In addition to these preparations for the destruction of the Saints, in the counties immediately surrounding Caldwell, there was a general uprising of the old settlers under no particular leadership, but roaming through the scattered settlements of the Saints in small bands, murdering, stealing stock, house burning, whipping the men and driving the terror-stricken women and children from their homes. In fact, the whole country surrounding Far West was infested with a merciless banditti, which daily were guilty of the most atrocious deeds of cruelty. Those of the Saints living in a scattered condition over the prairie, who were fortunate enough to escape with their lives, came running into Far West at all times of day and night, white with fear. The Prophet Joseph had counseled his people to settle in villages, and have their farms on the outskirts thereof, after the pattern, as far as circumstances would permit, of the plan given by revelation for building up the city of Zion. (See page 634.) He had urged, in addition to the improved opportuni-

ties this plan would give them for educating their children, etc., that they would be in a better condition to defend themselves against their enemies. But the Saints, at least many of them, would not hearken to this advice, but now that the enemy was upon them, when it was too late for them to profit by it, they could see the wisdom of it.

It was one of these marauding bands, under the leadership of Wm. O. Jennings and Nehemiah Comstock, which was guilty of that fiendish massacre at Haun's Mill, on the 30th of October, 1838, on which occasion 19 of the brethren were murdered. (See pages 671-686.)

In the meantime the mob forces, called "the governor's troops," had gathered about Far West to the number of 2,200, armed and equipped for war. The main body of these forces had marched from Richmond under the command of Major-General Samuel D. Lucas, starting on the 29th of October. The following day he was joined by the forces of General Doniphan at the ford of Log Creek, not far from Far West. Here they received the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. This order made no provisions for the protection of the innocent; the "Mormons" were either to be exterminated or driven from the State, regardless of their guilt or innocence.

On the morning of the 30th, the citizens of Far West had been informed of the approach of large bodies of armed men from the south, and had sent out a company of 150 of their number to learn the character of these forces, whether they were friendly or otherwise. They were soon convinced that their intentions were hostile, but found

some difficulty in returning to Far West without being captured by the mob forces. As they approached Far West in the evening, they were discovered by General Doniphan, who received permission from General Lucas to try and capture them; but having a superior knowledge of the ground, they escaped. Seeing this body of men approach, what militia there was in Far West was drawn up in line just south of the city to oppose the advance of the formidable enemy. Both parties sent out a flag of truce, which met between the two forces. The man sent out on the part of the Saints was Elder Charles C. Rich. When he approached the camp of the besiegers, Bogart, the Methodist preacher, fired upon him. In answer to the inquiry of the citizens of Far West as to who the mob forces were and what were their intentions, the reply was, "We want three persons out of the city before we massacre the rest." Adam Lightner, John Cleminson and wife were those three persons, but when the messenger offered them the chance for life, they responded, "If the people must be destroyed, we will die with them."

Hostilities, however, were postponed until the next day, and the mob began the work of encampment along the borders of Goose Creek. During the night the Saints constructed, as best they could, some rude fortifications south of the city, and were reinforced in the night by Lyman Wight and a small body of men from Adam-on-di-Ahman.

The mob forces were strengthened during the night by the arrival from the west of Niel Gillium's forces, who were dressed and painted like Indians, and doubtless more savage

than the savages whose dress, paint and horrid yells they aped.

These men hailed from the Platte Purchase west of Clay County. "Gillium himself," says the history of Caldwell County, "wore a full Indian costume, had his war paint on and called himself the 'Delaware chief' and his men the 'Delaware amarujans.' They would whoop and yell and otherwise conduct themselves as savages. When Capt. Bogart's company, which was in the fight at Crooked River, came up, the men were regarded as heroes, although *en route* they had burned every Mormon cabin they came upon, and had wantonly shot down much live stock and destroyed other property. The outlying Mormon settlements had by this time nearly all been abandoned, the occupants fleeing to Far West for safety. The militia foraged upon the county, and much property was taken, and much destroyed without cause. * * *

Some militia over in the edge of Clinton drove a dozen sheep into a vacated dwelling-house and burned the whole up together. Gillium's 'Indians' had been stationed at Hunter's Mills a few days previous and committed many excesses." The mob forces under Comstock with their hands dripping with the blood of their Haun's Mill victims, also joined Lucas during the night, thirsting for more innocent blood.

That was a terrible night of suspense at Far West. The people had learned of the massacre at Haun's Mill; they knew the murderous intentions of the mob forces encamped within two miles of their homes, and outnumbering their forces by more than four to one, and clothed with a seeming authority by the highest

officer in the State to resist which, however outrageous or barbarous it was, would give further excuse for their extermination.

It was with heavy hearts and sinking hopes that the Saints watched the first approach of the grey dawn in the eastern sky that ushered in the 31st of October. About 8 o'clock a flag of truce was sent out; Joseph and other Church writers say by the mob forces. Lucas, in his report to Governor Boggs, says:

"I received a message from Colonel Hinkle, the commander of the Mormon forces, [Caldwell militia] requesting an interview with me on an eminence near Far West, which he would designate by hoisting a white flag. I sent him word I would meet him at 2 o'clock p. m., being so much engaged in receiving and encamping fresh troops, who were hourly coming in, that I could not attend before."

"It may be," writes B. H. Roberts, "judging from the subsequent treacherous conduct of Colonel Hinkle, that he sent a secret messenger to Lucas requesting an interview, and that the white flag sent out by the mob forces, of which our Church historians speak, and which was met by Hinkle in person with a few others, was sent to give General Lucas' answer to Hinkle's earlier request for an interview. At any rate the truce flag was sent out and met by some of the brethren, among whom was Hinkle; and if anything special was learned, or accommodations arranged, or understanding arrived at by the conference held with the enemies' flag of truce, our writers have failed to mention it. The reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that that flag of truce merely brought to Colonel Hinkle the information that Lucas could not meet him until 2 o'clock; and that Hinkle did meet him at that time; and upon his own

responsibility, without consulting with the citizens of Far West or their leaders, entered into, and bound the people to the following terms of capitulation:

"1st. To give up all their [the Church] leaders to be tried and punished.

"2nd. To make an appropriation of their property, all who have taken up arms, to the payment of their debts, and indemnify for damage done by them.

"3rd. That the balance should leave the State and be protected out by the militia, but to remain until further orders were received from the commander-in-chief.

"4th. To give up their arms of every description, to be receipted for."

"According to Lucas' statement, Hinkle, while he readily accepted these terms of capitulation, desired to postpone the matter until the following morning; to which Lucas replied that if that was done he would demand that Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt and George W. Robinson be surrendered to his custody as hostages for his faithful compliance with the foregoing terms; and if after reflection and consultation the people decided to reject the terms offered them, these hostages were to be returned at the point where they were delivered into his possession."

Hinkle returned from the secret consultation with Lucas, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon told Joseph Smith and the other men Lucas demanded as hostages, that the leaders of the governor's troops desired a consultation with them outside the city limits. Accordingly these men, in company with Hinkle, walked out of Far West in the direction of the enemy's encampment. When midway between the mob's encampment and Far West, the little band of brethren were met by the mob forces, Lucas occupied a central place, fol-

lowed by fifty artillery men, with a four-pounder; while the remainder of the forces, amounting to over two thousand, came up on the right and left of Lucas. As soon as Lucas came up, Lyman Wight shook hands with him and said:

"We understand, general, you wish to confer with us a few moments, will not to-morrow morning do as well?"

Here Colonel Hinkle said:

"General Lucas, these are the prisoners I agreed to deliver to you."

Lucas brandished his sword and told the brethren from Far West that they were his prisoners, and that they would march into his camp without further delay.

"At this moment," says Lyman Wight, "I believe there were five hundred guns cocked and twenty caps bursted, and more hideous yells were never heard, even if the description of the yells of the d—d in hell is true as given by the modern sects of the day." Especially horrible and threatening were the yells and threats of Niel Gillium's company, costumed and painted as Indians.

The prisoners had been basely betrayed by Hinkle, as he had never consulted with them or any of the leaders of the people in relation to the terms of surrender offered by Lucas; and by misrepresentation he had induced them to place themselves into the hands of their implacable enemies.

On reaching the enemy's camp, ninety men were called out to guard the prisoners. Thirty were on this duty at a time; two hours on and four hours off. The prisoners lay in the open air with nothing as a covering, and they were drenched

with rain before morning. All night long they were mocked and taunted by the guard, who demanded signs, saying, "Come, Mr. Smith, show us an angel, give us one of your revelations, show us a miracle;" mingling these requests with the vilest oaths. Sidney Rigdon had an attack of apoplectic fits, which afforded much merriment to the brutal guard.

The morning following, which was the 1st of November, 1838, Hyrum Smith and Amasa M. Lyman were brought into the mob's camp.

According to Hinkle's agreement the militia in Far West was marched out of the city and grounded their arms, which were taken possession of by Lucas, although they were not State arms, but were the private property of the men who carried them.

"We were brought up at the point of the bayonet," writes Heber C. Kimball, "and compelled to sign a deed of trust, transferring all our property to defray the expenses of this war made on us by the State of Missouri. This was complied with, because we could not help ourselves. When we walked up to sign the deeds of trust to pay these assassins for murdering our brethren and sisters, and their children, ravishing some of our sisters to death, robbing us of our lands and possessions and all we had on earth, and other similar 'services,' they expected to see us cast down and sorrowful; but I testify as an eye witness that the brethren rejoiced and praised the Lord, for His sake taking joyfully the despoiling of their goods. Judges and magistrates, Methodist, Presbyterian, Campbellite and other sectarian priests stood by and saw all this going on, exulting over us, and it

seemed to make them more angry that we bore our misfortunes so cheerfully. Judge Cameron said, with an oath, 'See them laugh and kick up their heels. They are whipped, but not conquered.' "

"About 630 guns," says the history of Caldwell County, "consisting of hunting rifles, shot-guns and a few muskets, and some rude swords, home-made, and a few pistols, were given up and hauled off by the State authorities, but it can not be stated here what disposition was made of them. No compensation was ever allowed the Mormons for their property, which was taken or destroyed, and of course no return was made for their arms. Some of the Mormon officers had good swords. These officers all bore commissions, signed by Governor Boggs, in the 53rd regiment of Missouri militia, of which George M. Hinkle was colonel; Lyman Wight, lieutenant-colonel; and Jefferson Hunt, major. The regiment was regularly made up, according to the State law, from Caldwell County. Some of the other officers were Amasa Lyman and Seymour Brunson, who were captains; George P. Dykes was a lieutenant; Jacob Gates was an ensign. The Mormons under arms were all militiamen, regularly enrolled and mustered."

On the 6th General Clark paraded the remaining brethren at Far West and addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen, you whose names are not attached to this list of names, will now have the privilege of going to your fields and providing corn, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken will go from this to prison, be tried and receive the due merit of their crimes. But you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against) are now at liberty, as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the

place, which I shall cause to be done immediately. It now devolves upon you to fulfil the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you.

"The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law; this you have already complied with.

"The second is, that you deliver up your arms; this has been attended to.

"The third stipulation is, that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war; this you have also done.

"Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the State forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me; General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you—I approve of it—I should have done the same, had I been here—I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this State has suffered almost beyond redemption, from the character, conduct and influence that you have exerted, and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the States, by every proper means.

"The orders of the governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the State, and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes.

"There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, which I shall exercise in your favor for a season; for this lenity you are indebted to my clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again, in case of a non-compliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall act any more as I have done—you need not expect any mercy, but extermination, for I am determined the governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for *their fate is fixed*—THEIR DIE IS CAST—THEIR DOOM IS SEALED.

"I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that *Great Spirit*, THE UNKNOWN GOD, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that

chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound—that you no longer worship a man.

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule—and my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."

"I was present" writes Heber C. Kimball, "when that speech was delivered, and I can truly say he (Clark) is a liar and the truth is not in him, for not one of us had made any such agreement with Lucas, or any other person; what we did was by compulsion in every sense of the word, and as for General Clark and his 'unknown God,' they had nothing to do with our deliverance, but it was our Father in heaven, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, in whom we trust, who liveth and dwelleth in the heavens, and the day will come when our God will hold him in derision with all his coadjutors."

After listening to Gen. Clark's harrangue—this mixture of hypocrisy and conceit, affected pity and heartless cruelty, pretended patriotism and willful treason—the 56 brethren who had been arrested, for what, they knew not (neither did Clark appear able to inform them), were sent to Richmond where they were to be tried; and the remainder were dismissed to provide food and fuel for their families, and make preparations for leaving the State.

Governor Boggs appeared anxious about having his exterminating orders carried into effect, and occa-

sionally stirred up Clark's "pure mind" to a lively remembrance of what he expected him to do, by sending him messages from time to time. Here is a specimen received directly after Clark had sent the 56 prisoners to Richmond:

"It will be necessary that you hold a military court of inquiry in Daviess County, and arrest the Mormons, who have been guilty of the late outrages committed towards the inhabitants of said county. My instructions to you are to settle this whole matter completely, if possible before you disband your forces; if the Mormons are disposed voluntarily to leave the State, of course it would be advisable in you to promote that object in any way deemed proper. The ringleaders ought by no means to be permitted to escape the punishment they merit."

As if inspired to new zeal by the receipt of this message, Clark ordered General Wilson, who, in the meantime, had returned from Jackson County, to go to Adam-ondi-Ahman and take charge of all the prisoners at that place, and ascertain those who had committed crimes, put them under close guard, and when he moved to take them to Keytesville, the county seat of Chariton County, and between 70 and 80 miles from Adam-ondi-Ahman. A number of the brethren were taken prisoners at the latter place, and were examined before Judge Adam Black, one of the ringleaders of the mob, and one of the main hands in bringing about the whole trouble. But even he was obliged to acquit the brethren brought before him, as they were innocent of the charges made against them. At the close of their examination, General Wilson ordered all the Saints to leave Adam-ondi-Ahman within ten days, with permission to move into Caldwell County, and remain until spring, when they were to leave the State.

A committee of twelve men were granted the privilege of moving about freely between Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, with permission to move the corn and household goods from Adam-ondi-Ahman to Far West. The stock, or the most of it, was taken possession of by the mob-militia. The committee of twelve were to wear white badges on their hats in order that they might be easily recognized by the forces that would be detailed to watch the movements of the Saints.

By this arrangement the Saints at Adam-ondi-Ahman were driven from their comfortable homes to camp out through a long, dreary and severe winter in their wagons and tents, by reason of which exposure many perished, among whom were delicate women and children. (See pages 45-48.)

From the 13th to 28th of November, 1838, a mock trial, with the notorious Austin A. King on the bench, was held at Richmond, Ray County. On that occasion Joseph and fellow-prisoners were examined as to a number of false charges which had been made against them, and the whole farce ended with their incarceration in jail to await further trial. (See pages 449-452.) The 56 other brethren who had been taken prisoners in Far West and sent by General Clark to Richmond, and also 40 others that had been brought down by Bogart under the impression that they were to be witnesses in behalf of their brethren were either released or admitted to bail. Those admitted to bail, together with those who went on their bonds, were subsequently driven from the State so that the bail was forfeited.

It was during these trying times

that Brigham Young, afterwards the President of the Church, began to exhibit those executive qualities of mind which so eminently fitted him as a great leader. By the apostasy of Thomas B. Marsh, the presidency of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles devolved upon him, thence the leadership of the Church during the absence of the First Presidency. Dec. 13, 1838, he called together those members of the High Council of the Far West Stake of Zion that still remained in Far West and enquired of them as to their faith in the Latter-day work, first telling them that his own faith was unshaken. All the members present expressed their undying faith in the Gospel, and their confidence in Joseph Smith as a Prophet of God. The Council was then re-organized; the vacancies caused by absence or apostasy were filled up, and the Council was prepared to do business. On the 19th Elder John Taylor and John E. Page were chosen and ordained members of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, under the hands of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

Elder Young's activity and zeal in the matter of caring for the poor was unbounded. A public meeting was called, not only of the Saints but also of the citizens of Caldwell County, and the poverty and distress of many of the Saints presented to them. At that meeting, which was held in Far West, Jan. 26, 1839, several gentlemen, not members of the Church, expressed themselves that they thought that an appeal should be made to the citizens of Upper Missouri, claiming their assistance towards furnishing means to remove the poor from Caldwell County. If

such an appeal was ever made it is not generally known.

A committee of seven was then appointed to ascertain the number of families who were actually destitute of means for their removal, and report at the next meeting.

On the 29th another meeting was held of a similar character, at which the committee appointed reported, and Pres. Young offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Resolved. That we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the general exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the State."

The following brethren were then appointed to act as a committee to superintend the removal of the Saints from the State of Missouri, to wit: William Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy and Jonathan H. Hale. The following document, or covenant, was also drawn up and signed by the faithful brethren:

"Far West, Missouri, Jan. 29, 1839.

"We, whose names are here-under written, do each for ourselves individually hereby covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, in compliance with the authority of the State; and we do hereby acknowledge ourselves firmly bound to the extent of all our available property, to be disposed of by a committee who shall be appointed for that purpose, for providing means for the removing of the poor and destitute, who shall be considered worthy, from this country, till there shall not be one left who desires to remove from the State: with this proviso, that no individual shall be deprived of the right of the disposal of his own property for the above purpose, or of having the control of it, or so much of it as shall be necessary for the removing of his own family, and be entitled to the overplus, after the work is effected; and furthermore, said committee shall give receipts for all

property, and an account of the expenditure of the same.

"John Smith, James McMillan, William Huntington, Chandler Holbrook, Charles Bird, Alexander Wright, Alanson Ripley, William Taylor, Theodore Turley, John Taylor, Daniel Shearer, Reuben P. Hartwell, Shadrach Roundy, John Lowry, Jonathan H. Hale, Welcome Chapman, Elias Smith, Solomon Hancock, Brigham Young, Arza Adams, James Burnham, Henry Jacobs, Leicester Gaylord, James Carroll, Samuel Williams, David Lyons, John Miller, John Taylor, Aaron M. York, Don Carlos Smith, George A. Smith, William J. Stuart, Daniel Howe, Isaac B. Chapman, James Bradin, Roswell Stephens, Jonathan Beckelshimer, Reuben Hedlock, David Jones, David Holman, Wm. M. Fossett, Joel Goddard, Charles N. Baldwin, Phineas R. Bird, Jesse N. Reed, Duncan McArthur, Benjamin Johnson, Allen Talley, Jonathan Hampton, James Hampton, Anson Call, Sherman A. Gilbert, Peter Dopp, James S. Holman, Samuel Rolph, Andrew Lytle, Abel Lamb, Aaron Johnson, Daniel McArthur, Heber C. Kimball, William Gregory, George W. Harris, Zenos Curtis, George W. Davidson, John Reed, Harvey Strong, William R. Orton, Elizabeth Mackley, Samuel D. Tyler, Sarah Mackley, John H. Goff, Andrew Moore, Thomas Butterfield, Harvey Downey, Dwight Hardin, John Maba, Norvil M. Head, Lucy Wheeler, Stephen V. Foot, John Turpin, Jacob G. Bigler, William Earl, Eli Bagley, Zenos H. Gurley, William Milam, Joseph W. Coolidge, Lorenzo Clark, Anthony Head, William Alfred, S. A. P. Kelsey, Wm. Van Ausdall, Moses Evord, Nathan K. Knight, Ophelia Harris, John Thorp, Zuba McDonald, Andrew Rose, Mary Goff, John S. Martin, Harvey J. Moore, Albert Sloan, Francis Chase, John D. Lee, Stephen Markham, Eliphas Marsh, John Outhouse, Joseph Wright, Wm. F. Leavens, John Badger, Daniel Tyler, Levi Richards, Noah Rogers, Erastus Bingham, Stephen N. St. John, Elisha Everett, Francis Lee, John Lytle, Eli Lee, Levi Jackman, Benjamin Covey, Thomas Guyman, Michael Barkdull, Nahum Curtis, Miles Randall, Lyman Curtis, Horace Evans, Phillip Ballard, David Dort, William Gould, Levi Hancock, Reuben Middleton, Edwin Whiting, William Harper, William Barton, Seba Joes, Elisha Smith, Charles Butler, James Gallaher, Richard Walton, Robert Jackson, Isaac Kerron, Lemuel Merrick, Joseph Rose, James Dunn, David Foot, Orin Hartshorn, L. S. Nickerson, Nathan Hawke, Moses Daley, Pierce Hawley, David Sessions, Thomas

F. Fisher, Peregrine Sessions, James Leithhead, Alford P. Childs, Alfred Lee, Ja Daley, Stephen Jones, Noah T. Guyman, Eleazar Harris, David Winters, Elijah B. Gaylord, John Pack, Thomas Grover, Sylvanus Hicks, Alexander Badlam, Horatio N. Kent, Phebe Kellogg, Joseph W. Pierce, Albert Miner, Thomas Gates, Wm. Woodland, Squire Bozarth, Martin C. Allred, Nathan Lewis, Jedediah Owen, Philander Averv, Orrin P. Rockwell, Benjamin F. Bird, Nathan B. Baldwin, Charles Squire, Truman Brace, Jacob Curtis, Sarah Wixom, Rachel Medfo, Lewis Zobriski, Lyman Stevens, Henry Zobriski, Roswell Evans, Morris Harris, Leonard Clark, Absolom Tidwell, Nehemiah Harmon, Alvin Winegar, Daniel Cathcart, Samuel Winegar, Gershom Stokes, John E. Page, Rachel Page, Levi Gifford, Barnet Cole, Edmund Durfee, Wm. Thompson, Josiah Butterfield, Nathan Cheney, John Killion, James Sherry, John Patten, David Frampton, John Wilkins, Elizabeth Pettigrew, Abram Allen, Charles Thompson, Wm. Felshaw."

President Young secured eighty names to this covenant the first day he presented it to the Saints and three hundred the next. Hence the 214 names given above is only a partial list of the signers, but they are all that are recorded in Church history. Joseph, the Prophet, not willing to be behind the other brethren in the good work, from his gloomy dungeon at Liberty, sent the brethren \$100 to assist in removing the Saints. In the evening of Jan. 29th the committee met in the house of Theodore Turley and organized for business, by appointing Wm. Huntington chairman, Daniel Shearer treasurer, and Alanson Ripley clerk. The latter declining to act, Elias Smith was appointed in his stead.

At an adjourned meeting of the committee, held three days later, (Feb. 1, 1838) four other brethren—Elias Smith, Erastus Bingham, Stephen Markham and James Newberry—were added to the committee.

At this meeting Charles Bird was appointed to go down towards the Mississippi River, and make deposits of corn for the use of the Saints as they should come along. He was also to make contracts for ferriage and arrange whatever else might be necessary for their comfort and security. Thus all things were prepared for the exodus of the Saints from the State of Missouri.

No sooner had these arrangements been perfected than Elder Young, whose wisdom and activity had doubtless given offense to the enemies of the Church, had to flee from Far West to escape the vengeance of the mob. He left Far West, Feb. 14, 1838, and went to Illinois. In his labors, Elder Young had been materially assisted by the support and counsels of Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor and the members of the various committees that had been appointed, to whom was now left the execution of the plans that had been laid for the removal of the Church.

When the Saints commenced removing from Far West, they shipped as many families and as much goods as possible at Richmond, to go down the Missouri River and up the Mississippi to Quincy, Ill. This mission was in charge of Elder Levi Richards and Reuben Hedlock who were appointed by the committee. The exodus throughout was managed with consummate wisdom, and in view of all the difficulties in the way, with less suffering than could have been expected. The distance to the point of the Mississippi River where most of the exiles crossed over to Illinois was over two hundred miles in an easterly direction. The weather was cold and the roads

generally muddy and bad. Scores of Saints died from exposure and fatigue on that memorable journey. The move was not undertaken in a solid body, and seldom in regularly organized companies, but in small squads—two, three and from that to a dozen teams and upwards traveled together. A number of families also undertook the journey alone. Not a single family who wished to go was left behind, as the committee appointed to superintend the removal paid particular attention to all the poor, and furnished them with the necessary teams and provisions to perform the journey.

While the Saints were making preparations to move away as fast as possible the mob was continually annoying them in every possible manner, and threatening the lives of the members of the committee and others. Thus frequently armed bands of mobbers came into Far West and abused men, women and children, stole horses, drove off cattle, and plundered houses of everything that pleased them. Especially did their hatred seem to be directed toward Elder Heber C. Kimball, who in consequence was obliged to secrete himself in the corn fields and other places during the day, but came into town at night counseling the committee and the brethren. Because of the persecutions, the committee, on the 14th of April, 1839, moved 36 families into Tenney's Grove, about twenty five miles from Far West, and a few men were appointed to chop wood for them, while Elder Turley was to furnish them with meal and meat, until they could be removed to Quincy. The corn was ground at the committee's horse mill at Far West.

On the morning of the 18th Elder Kimball went into the committee room and told the members of the committee who were present to wind up their affairs and be off, or their lives would be taken. Later in the day a number of mobbers met Elder Kimball on the public square in Far West and asked him if he was a d—d "Mormon." Hereplied, "I am a Mormon." "Well," said they, "G—d—n you, we'll blow your brains out, you G—d—d Mormon," and they tried to ride over him with their horses. This took place in the presence of Elias Smith, Theodore Turley and others of the committee. Almost immediately afterward twelve men went to Elder Turley's house with loaded rifles intending to shoot him. They broke seventeen clocks into matchwood, broke tables, chairs and looking-glasses, smashed in the windows, etc., while Bogart, the county judge, looked on and laughed. One mobber by the name of Whitaker threw iron pots at Turley, one of which hit him on the shoulder, at which Whitaker jumped and laughed like a mad man. The mob shot down cows while the girls were milking them, and threatened to send the committee "to hell jumping," and "put daylight through them." The brethren gathered up what they could and left Far West in one hour. The mob stayed until they left, and then plundered \$1,000 worth of property which had been left by the more well-to-do Saints to help the poor to remove. One mobber rode up and finding no convenient place to fasten his horse, shot a cow that was standing near, and while the poor animal was yet struggling in death, he cut a strip of her hide from her nose to the tip of her tail,

which he tied round a stump and fastened his halter to it.

During the commotion of the day, a number of the records, accounts, history, etc., belonging to the committee were destroyed or lost, on account of which the history of the Church only contains a few definite dates of the doings of the committee.

On the 20th of April, 1839, the last of the Saints left Far West. Thus a whole community variously estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand souls, had left, or were about to leave the State of Missouri, where they had experienced so much sorrow, and found a temporary shelter in the State of Illinois, chiefly in Quincy and vicinity (see *Quincy*), and a few in the territory of Iowa on the north.

The history of Caldwell County (pages 142 and 143) has the following concerning the exodus of the Saints from Missouri:

"In the midst of an inclement winter, in December, 1838, and in January, 1839, many of the Mormon men, women and children, the sick and the aged, as well as the young and strong, were turned out of their homes in this (Caldwell) county and Daviess, into the prairies and forests, without food, or sufficient protection from the weather. In some instances in Daviess, their houses were burnt before their eyes and they turned out into the deep snow. Only a few cabins in the south-western part of Caldwell were burned at this time.

"Numerous families set out at once for Illinois, making the entire distance, in mid-winter, on foot. A large majority, however, remained until spring as under the terms of the treaty they were allowed to remain in the county until that time. All through the winter and early spring those who remained prepared to leave. They offered their lands for sale at very small figures. In fact many bartered their farms for teams and wagons to get away on. Some traded for any sort of property. Charles R. Ross, of Black Oak, bought 40 acres of good land, north of Breckenridge, for a blind mare and a clock. Some tracts of good land north of Shoal

Creek, in Kidder Township, brought only 50 cents an acre. Many of the Mormons had not yet secured the patents to their lands, and though they had regularly entered them, they could not sell them; the Gentiles would not buy unless they could receive the government's deeds, as well as the grantor's. These kinds of lands were abandoned altogether, in most instances, and afterward settled upon by Gentiles who secured titles by keeping the taxes paid. * * *

"What authority Gen. Lucas had to make such a 'treaty' and to impose such conditions is not clear. It would seem that he regarded the Mormons as composing a foreign nation, or at least as forming an army with belligerent rights, and with proper treaty-contracting powers. The truth was they were and had not ceased to be citizens of Missouri, amenable to and under the jurisdiction of its laws. If they had committed any crime they ought to have been punished, just the same as other criminals. There was no authority for taking their arms from them except that they were proved to be militia in a state of insubordination. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to pay the expenses of the war. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to leave the State. It was monstrously illegal and unjust to attempt to punish them for offenses for which they had not been tried and of which they had not been convicted. It would be a reasonable conclusion that in making his so-called 'treaty' Gen. Lucas was guilty of illegal extortion, unwarranted assumption of power, usurpation of authority, and flagrant violation of the natural rights of man."

It must not be supposed that all the people of Missouri sanctioned the outrages committed against the Church. There was here and there an honorable man who protested against the conduct of the mob and the authorities; and occasionally some newspaper would deplore the action of the people against the Saints.

Among the men who were moved with sympathy by their suffering was Michael Arthur. Under date of Nov. 29, 1838, he wrote to the representatives in the State legislature from Clay County, relating the vile atrocities that were heaped upon the

heads of the defenseless Saints after they had surrendered their arms to General Clark. He represented that the "Mormons" were willing to leave the State, in fact that they were making every effort that their limited means would permit them to make to get away, and suggested that a company of reliable men under the command of George M. Pryer be authorized to patrol on the line between Daviess and Caldwell Counties, with authority to arrest any one they found disturbing the peace, that the "Mormons" might be protected while they were making preparations to leave the State. And if it was impracticable to organize this company of men, then he suggested that the arms taken from the "Mormons" be returned to them, that they might defend themselves from the barbarous attacks of their enemies.

Nor were the Saints wanting in attention to the instructions of the Lord in the matter of petitioning for a redress of their grievances. For as soon as the legislature was convened they sent a statement of all the wrongs heaped upon them during their sojourn in the State of Missouri, from the time they first settled in Jackson County to the treaty forced upon them at Far West by Generals Lucas and Clark, and the outrages that had been committed against them since the surrender of their arms.

After the story of their wrongs, they asked: first, that the legislature pass a law rescinding the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; second, they asked an expression of the legislature, disapproving the conduct of those who compelled them to sign a deed of trust at the point of the musket; and of any man in con-

sequence of that deed of trust taking their property, and appropriating it to the payment of damages sustained, in consequence of trespasses committed by others; third, that they receive payment for the 635 arms that were taken from them, which were worth twelve or fifteen thousand dollars; fourth, that an appropriation be made to reimburse them for their loss of lands from which they had been driven in Jackson County. The petition, which was dated Dec. 10, 1838, closes in these words:

"In laying our case before your honorable body, we say that we are willing, and ever have been, to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privileges guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this State, to be extended to us, and that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege we are willing all others should enjoy the same."

Elder David H. Redfield was appointed to present this petition to the legislature; and on that mission he arrived at Jefferson City Dec. 16, 1838. The following day he had an interview with Governor Boggs, in which the governor manifested much interest, and on being informed that the Missourians were committing depredations against the Saints, promised to write to Judge King and Colonel Price, ordering them to put down every hostile appearance.

In the course of this conversation Boggs admitted that the "stipulations entered into by the 'Mormons' to leave the State, and signing the deeds of trust, were unconstitutional and not valid." "We want the legislature to pass a law to that effect,

showing that the stipulations and deeds of trust are not valid and are unconstitutional," said Redfield, and went on to say if they did not, the character of the State was forever lost.

Previous to the arrival of Redfield, the governor's exterminating order, General Clark's reports, and the report of the *ex parte* investigation at Richmond, and a lot of other papers had been forwarded to the legislature and referred to a special joint committee. That committee reported Dec. 18th, two days after Redfield's arrival at Jefferson City. And to show in what bad repute these documents were held by this committee, we need only say that it refused to allow them to be published with the sanction of the legislature, because the evidence adduced at Richmond in a great degree was *ex parte* [from one side only] and not of a character to be desired for the basis of a fair and candid investigation. Their report concluded with three resolutions; one to the effect that it was inexpedient at that time to prosecute further the inquiry into the cause of the late disturbances; another to the effect that it was inexpedient to publish any of the documents accompanying the governor's message in relation to those disturbances; the last favored the appointment of a joint committee from the House and Senate to investigate the troubles and the conduct of the military operation to suppress them. These resolutions were subsequently referred to a joint select committee, with instructions to report a bill in conformity thereto.

The day after the committee reported in relation to that part of the governor's message relating to the

"Mormon" troubles, and on the documents accompanying it, the petition from the Saints was read, amid profound stillness of the house, and at its conclusion an angry debate followed, in which quite a number of the members testified to the correctness of the statements made in the petition and to the cruelties practiced upon the Saints, but they were in the minority.

On the 16th of January, 1839, Mr. Turner, the chairman of the select joint committee before alluded to, in conformity with the resolution passed, reported "A bill to provide for the investigation of the late disturbances in the State of Missouri." The bill consisted of 23 sections. It provided for a joint committee composed of two members of the Senate and three members of the House, which was to meet at Richmond on the first Monday in May and thereafter at such time and places as it saw proper. The committee was to select its own officers, issue subpoenas and other processes, administer oaths, keep a record, etc.

This bill was introduced Jan. 16th and on Feb. 4th was called up for its first reading, but on motion of Mr. Wright was laid on the table until the 4th of July. He knew that by that time, since the governor's exterminating order was still in force, the "Mormons," in obedience to that cruel edict, would all have left the State, and then there would be no need of an investigation. That was the fate of the bill. It was never afterwards brought up.

The legislature in its magnanimity appropriated \$2,000 to relieve the sufferings of the people in Daviess and Caldwell Counties, the "Mormons" were to be included. And

now came an opportunity for the Missourians of Daviess County to display their generosity. Having filled their homes with the household effects of the Saints; their yards with the stock they had stolen; their smoke houses with "Mormon" beef and pork, they concluded that they could get along without their portion of the appropriation and allowed the \$2,000 to be distributed among the "Mormons" of Caldwell County. Judge Cameron and a Mr. McHenry superintended the distribution of this appropriation. The hogs owned by the brethren who had lived in Daviess County were driven down into Caldwell, shot down and without further bleeding were roughly dressed and divided out among the Saints at a high price. This and the sweepings of some old stores soon exhausted the legislative appropriation, and amounted to little or nothing in the way of relief to the Saints.

Subsequently this same legislature, while the petition of the Saints for a redress of their wrongs was lying before them, appropriated \$200,000 to defray the expenses incurred in driving the "Mormons" from the State; and dispossessing them of their property. By that act the legislature became a party to the damning deeds of the mob forces, urged on in their cruelties by the executive of the State; for that legislature had sealed with its approval all that had been done, by paying the wretches who had executed the plan that had been devised for the expulsion of the Saints.

FAR WEST.

Far West, the Missouri headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1836-1839, and the county seat of Caldwell

County, Missouri, from 1836-1843, was pleasantly situated on rising ground in the western part of the county. The Temple site, which was on the public square in the centre of the town, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Shoal Creek and the same distance north of Goose Creek, or 3 miles northwest of the junction of these two streams. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a straight line northwest of where Kingston, the present county seat, now stands, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of the little town of Mirabile, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of Polo, on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry., 9 miles southwest of Hamilton and about the same distance southeast of Cameron (Clinton Co.), both on the St. Joseph & Hannibal Ry. It is 4 miles east of the boundary line between Caldwell and Clinton Counties, 8 miles south of the Daviess County southern boundary line, and 10 miles north of the boundary line between Ray and Caldwell Counties. It is also 30 miles in a straight line northwest of Richmond, Ray Co., 35 miles northeast of Liberty, Clay County, 45 miles northeast of Independence, Jackson Co., 40 miles southeast of St. Joseph, on the Missouri River, and 150 miles southwest of Quincy, Ill., on the Mississippi River. The municipal name of the township in which Far West was located is Mirabile.

The original town site of Far West was a mile square, and the numbers of the land comprising the original plat were the southwest quarter of Section 11, southeast quarter of Section 10, northeast quarter of Section 15 and northwest quarter of Section 14, all in Township 56, Range 29. Subsequently the town was extended so as to contain all of Sections 11, 10, 15 and 14, making the city plat

just two miles square. (See page 692.)

The site of Far West was selected by W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, constituting an exploring committee sent out by the Saints in Clay County to find a new location where they could live in peace. The committee came out in the summer of 1836, rode for several days through the territory now embraced in Caldwell, Clinton and Daviess Counties, and finally made choice of the prairie between Shoal Creek and Goose Creek, where Far West subsequently was built. The town site was entered Aug. 8, 1836; the north half was entered in the name of W. W. Phelps and the south half in the name of John Whitmer, but these two brethren merely held the land in trust for the Church. In the following month (September, 1838) the Saints commenced to pour in from Clay County, and soon a village of respectable proportions sprang up where the wild prairie grass waved tall and luxuriant. In the centre of the town a large public square was laid off approached by four main roads running east and west, north and south, each 132 feet wide. All the other streets were $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and they, as well as the four principal avenues, crossed each other at right angles, forming blocks 396 feet square (containing four acres) divided into four lots each.

"Nearly all the first houses in Far West," says the History of Caldwell County, "were log cabins. In a few months, however, some frames were built, a portion of the lumber being brought from lower Ray, and a portion being whip-sawed. Perhaps the first house was built by one Ormsby; this was in the summer of 1836. It

is said that John Whitmer's house was built Jan. 19, 1837. In the fall of 1836, a large and comfortable school house was built, and here courts were held after the location of the county seat until its removal to Kingston. The Mormons very early gave attention to educational matters. There were many teachers among them and school houses were among their first buildings. The school house in Far West was used as a church, as a town hall and as a court-house, as well as for a school house. It first stood in the southwest quarter of town, but upon the establishment of the county seat it was removed to the centre of the square."

In the summer of 1837 some non-members of the Church expressed a desire to establish saloons in the growing town, and endeavored to induce some of the brethren to sell intoxicants on commission for them, but the High Council at a meeting held Jan. 11, 1837, resolved not to sustain any persons as members of the Church who would become retailers of spirituous liquors. Consequently the liquor business was dropped. At this time there were about one hundred buildings in Far West, eight of which were stores.

April 26, 1838, in a revelation given through the Prophet Joseph in Far West, the Lord said:

"Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standest is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for the gathering together of my Saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer; and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next, and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this

day let them recommence laying the foundation of my house. Thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished, from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not any thing remain that is not finished. *

* * And again, verily I say unto you, it is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my Saints, and also that other places should be appointed for Stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph, from time to time."

During that year (1838) a number of other revelations were given through Joseph the Prophet, in Far West, concerning the building up of that place, the order of the Church, etc. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 114, 117, 118, 119 and 120.)

"In the summer of 1838," says the history of Caldwell County, "there were 150 houses in Far West. There were 4 dry goods stores, 3 family groceries, half a dozen blacksmith shops and 2 hotels. The latter were kept by John Whitmer and Warmsley. A printing press and material were in the place. * * *

"In the summer of 1837, preparations were begun for the building of a Temple in the centre of the town. The excavation for the cellar under the prospective structure, 120 by 80 feet in area, and 5 feet in depth, was made in about half a day, more than 500 men being employed in the work, with no other implements for loosening the dirt than mattocks and spades, and with no other means of removing it than hand-barrows. The corner stones of the Temple were laid soon after, but the exact date has been controverted. Some accounts fix it on July 4, 1837, on the celebration of Independence Day, but Switzler and others deny this. The Mormon records at Salt Lake show and conclusively prove that they were laid July 4, 1838.

"But little else was done, however, than to lay the corner stones and dig the foundation. A few loads of stone were hauled up and yet lie scattered about the excavation, which is still plain to be seen. Storm clouds arose on the horizon, and the leaders, by the advice of the 'Prophet,' forbore to expend any more labor and means upon the Temple until the signs were more promising, and it should be reasonably certain that they should hold it and worship in it permanently.

"Upon the departure of the Mormons, in 1839, many of the houses in Far West were either torn down or hauled away into the country and used for farm and dwelling houses. The town, however, continued to be the county seat until 1843. The first house in Kingston after the town was laid off was removed from Far West by Walter A. Doak. Upon the removal of the county seat the town gradually sank into insignificance and dwindled away. The post office, which was established in the fall of 1836, was continued for many years. The cemetery west of the town, gradually fell into disuse and decay, and now (1886) is a corn field.

"At this writing, the one mile square which formerly composed the town site of Far West is cut up into fine fertile farms. The excavation for the Temple is still to be seen at almost its original depth. A few of the stones, intended originally for the Temple's foundation, lie scattered about and are occasionally chipped by relic hunters. Jacob Whitmer, a son of John Whitmer—who, with W. W. Phelps, located the old town—owns the northeast quarter of the town and the Temple site. The house in which Joseph Smith

once lived, which stood 200 yards southwest of the Temple foundation, was recently torn down and the logs used in building a stable(?). It was a small story-and-a-half building, of logs, with a large stone chimney."

The last important event connecting Far West with the history of the Church, is the secret conference held on the Temple site early in the morning of April 26, 1839, in fulfillment of a revelation about which the mobbers had said that if all the other revelations of Joseph Smith were fulfilled that one should not be, as it had place and date to it. (See page 467.)

Elder L. O. Littlefield, who visited Far West a short time after the Saints had left it, in the spring of 1839, describes the deserted town as follows:

"That town site—Far West—and as far as the eye could extend over the rolling prairie, towards the four points of the compass—was not marked by a single habitation for the abode of man, when our people halted their wagons and pitched their tents there in 1836. But, within the short period of their residence, the scene had been transformed, as if by the hand of magic, and small towns, settlements and farm-houses, with their accompanying improvements, heightened the broad and dappled beauty of the undulating landscape, exhibiting evidences of the industry and skill of the hunted and ever toiling "Mormon" people. A short time previous, I had looked over this romantic region with pride, hope and inspiring joy; but now with emotions of sadness, despondence and grief. Wherever I turned, loneliness and desolation were unbroken by any feature calculated to awaken cheerfulness or mollify the tendency to despondence. My people were not there! They had left their homes empty and desolate—all save a few, and they were struggling to prepare for the dreary journey. The houses, nearly all, were in the midst of stillness—save the sweet melody of birds, which fell upon my ear like a requiem dirge. No ax-men were in the enclosures or groves; no curling smoke arose from the chimneys, indicative of bright firesides and tempting repasts; the voices of bleating lambs and lowing herds sent forth no echoes upon the

ambient air; no, not even the barking of the faithful watch-dog broke the monotonous silence. At that time, what was missed more than all else, were the voices of the loved ones which had saluted me in the past. Their cheerful music was hushed and the melody of their Sabbath orisons no more sent up anthems of praise into the ears of the God of Sabaoth. Alas, where were they all? The forms of those early associates, those trustworthy young men, and the rosy cheeked beves of happy girls—once so vivacious and merry-hearted—indeed, where were they? Once we mingled there, in life's halcyon prime; but now I walked alone, and the happy past lived but in memory. The aged, also, with gray heads and bent forms; the mother, with the suckling babe, and the father with his group of plodding boys—all, all, had left, and at that hour were on the weary march, exiled and cast out from the homes their hands had built, and from the streets they had surveyed and converted into thoroughfares for enterprise and traffic. In the midst of those scenes, endeared by so many tender memories, I felt as a stranger, and almost as an intruder; for why should I be there, and they, the owners, ejected and driven away? That hour, though peculiar, was full of interest, as the past and future were contemplated."

Elder B. H. Roberts, who visited the old Far West site in 1885, gives the following description of it in his article on the Missouri Persecutions, published in the *Contributor*:

"The town site of Far West is the highest swell in that high rolling prairie country, visible from a long distance. Standing last summer on what used to be the public square of Far West, I obtained an excellent view of all the surrounding country. Vast fields of waving corn and meadow land were stretched out on all sides, as far as the eye could see. Several towns and villages, with their white church-spires gleaming in the sun-light, were in plain view, though from five to ten miles distant. Away to the east is Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell; further to the northeast is Breckenridge, Hamilton and Kidder; to the northwest is Cameron; southeast is the quaint village of Polo and nearly due south the little town of Mirabile. All these places are within easy vision from the site of Far West, and increase the grandeur of the scene. The situation chosen for Far West, is the finest location for a city in the county, but notwithstanding all the advantages of the

location, Far West has been abandoned. In the fall of 1838, it was a thriving town of some three thousand inhabitants, but to-day nothing remains except the house of the Prophet Joseph, now owned by D. F. Kerr, and one portion of the Whitmer Hotel, now used as a stable. This is all that remains of the buildings at Far West, erected by the hands of the Saints. A few farm houses have since been built in the vicinity, and a quarter of a mile from the public square stands a neat, white church, owned by the Methodists, I was informed. Nothing but an excavation, 110 feet by 80, enclosed in an old field, with a large rough, unbewn stone in each corner, now marks the spot that was once the pretentious public square of Far West. This excavation was made July 3, 1837, and was intended for a basement to the Temple the Saints expected to erect there. * * * Standing on this consecrated ground, and the few viewing relics that are left, as if to remind us that the Saints once lived here, one naturally falls into a gloomy reverie. It is true we are not surrounded by the fallen columns of ruined Temples; or the ruins of splendid palaces, or massive walls, such as one would meet with at Babylon, Jerusalem, Rome, or Athens; it is not the ruins of an antique or celebrated civilization that inspires our gloomy reverie over Far West. There we sit in the midst of the ruined prospects and blighted hopes of the Saints, instead of in the midst of broken columns, ponderous arches and crumbling walls. The chief interest about Far West is that it was the theatre where, was enacted those scenes, which forever shall be a blot upon the fair fame of the State of Missouri and the United States."

Crosby Jackson, in his history of Caldwell County, says—

"If that strange people who built Nauvoo and Salt Lake, who uncomplainingly toiled across the American desert, and made the wilderness of Utah to bloom like a garden, had been permitted to remain and perfect the work which they had begun here, how different would have been the history of Far West! Instead of being a farm with scarcely sufficient ruins to mark the spot where it once stood, there would have been a rich, populous city, along the streets of which would be pouring the wealth of the world; and instead of an old dilapidated farm house, there would have been magnificent Temples to which the devout Saints from the further corners of the world would have made their yearly pilgrimage."

DAVIESS COUNTY, MISSOURI.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Daviess County, Missouri, the temporary home of quite a number of Saints in 1838, lies immediately north of Caldwell County, and the topographical features of the two counties are nearly alike. Daviess is 24 miles square and comprises 576 square miles or 368,640 acres of land, of which 359,317 acres are subject to taxation and cultivation. About two-fifths of the area consists of timber land and three-fifths of prairie. Its timber lands are rich in every variety of growth and its prairies are beautifully rolling and with a drainage almost perfect. The wild grasses grow luxuriantly, and wild fruits are numerous and grow in reckless profusion. The wild grape and plum are found in abundance, but all this is giving way to cultivated orchards, meadows of timothy and blue grass pasturage. One great feature of the uniting of timber and prairie is that it is so diversified in its range over the county, that there is not a farm which cannot have its supply of woodland, as well as prairie. The Grand River, one of the principal rivers of Missouri, runs diagonally from the northwest to the southeast corner of the county, and has almost its entire length, beautifully sloping banks; the bottom lands have no superior in richness and productive qualities. There are many rich valleys lying along the banks of the different streams irregular in form, but rich in all that makes a farm valuable and home life comfortable. It is this topographical feature of the county, with its undulating surface, its perfection of drainage and its al-

titude high above malarial influences, which gives to Daviess County her greatest charm. A life-giving and invigorating atmosphere makes life enjoyable and home pleasant there.

The soil is very fertile; the chief products of the county is Indian corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, fruits, butter, wool, pork and live stock. Its manufactures consists of flour and lumber mills, wool-carding establishments, etc.

The southwestern branch of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry., passes through the county from southwest to northeast, and the Wabash line passes through from northwest to southeast, following the general direction of Grand River. These two trunk lines, owned and operated by rival corporations, give active competition for the carrying traffic of the county.

In 1840 Daviess County had 2,736 inhabitants; in 1850, 5,298; in 1860, 9,606 and in 1870, 14,410. In 1880 the county had 19,145 inhabitants, distributed in the various townships as follows:

Benton Township.....	1,875
Colfax Township.....	1,167
Grand River Township.....	1,652
Harrison Township.....	756
Jackson Township.....	1,505
Jamesport Township.....	1,369
Jefferson Township.....	1,372
Liberty Township.....	988
Lincoln Township.....	846
Marion Township.....	1,520
Monroe Township.....	869
Salem Township.....	982
Sheridan Township.....	967
Union Township.....	2,332
Washington Township.....	945

The five principal towns of Daviess County are: Gallatin, the county seat, with a population in 1880 of 1,141; Jamesport with 608; Jameson with

405; Pattonsburg with 399, and Winston with 304 inhabitants.

HISTORY.

Up to 1830 that part of Missouri which now comprises Daviess County was the undisturbed home of the Indians—a home with which they were loth to part, and which for years afterwards they continued to visit and occupy as hunting ground. "It was a migratory field for the restless buffalo; the elk and the bear roamed its wooded hills; the deer and the wild turkey made it their home; the valleys and the uplands were filled with smaller game; fish sported in the cool, pellucid waters of the rivers and creeks; and in shady nooks and near bubbling springs the aborigines built their wigwams. It was a paradise for the hunter, and the red man was the lord of all."

In the spring of 1830 the first white settlers trod the soil of what is now Daviess County. Hunters and trappers had plied their vocations through this Grand River country as early as 1826, but no log cabin reared its front until the spring of the year above mentioned. It was a grand country for game and wild honey, and venturesome spirits passed to and fro ere the Indians had ceased to be jealous of the encroachments of the whites. The first man who raised his cabin within Daviess County was John Splawn, and with him was his son, Mayberry Splawn. The cabin was erected near the spot where the Rock Island depot now stands, but was soon after removed to what was known as Splawn's Ridge, about three miles east of Gallatin, and near what afterward became the town of Millport, and just south of the site of that old but now plowed up town. They came

in January, 1830. Who built the second cabin has not been determined, but it probably was raised soon after the above date. The third cabin in Daviess County was put up by John Tarwater, who settled on Section 34, in Township 59 of Range 27, just above the mouth of Honey Creek. Stephen Roberts settled the same month. These men were the first settlers in the county and came in January and February, 1830, followed by Daniel Devaul and others in April of the same year.

Quite a number of other settlers came in 1831. Among them were Josiah and Jesse Morin, who settled what afterwards became Millport and were merchants there. That year also, Robert P. Peniston, sen., a Kentuckian, settled in Daviess County, and built the first house in Millport. His only grown up son, Wm. P. Peniston (who afterwards became so notorious for his persecutions of the Saints), and a negro by the name of Jake, put up the house. Robert P. Peniston also built the first mill in the county. In 1834 Adam Black, who subsequently took an active part in bringing trouble upon the Saints, settled in Jamesport Township, together with several others.

During the Black Hawk war of 1831-1833, most of the settlers abandoned their homes in Daviess County and went southward, but nearly all returned after peace was restored. New settlers also came in, and a town began to make an appearance around the site of what afterwards became Peniston's Mill and later Millport.

The life of the settlers of 1830 to December, 1836, when Daviess County was organized as an independent

municipal corporation, was a season of many privations and hardships. Up to that time Daviess was a part of Ray County, and under its civil jurisdiction the pioneer pre-empted and staked his claim, but the county was not surveyed until the winter of 1836-1837, and was not open to entry until 1838.

The history of Daviess County, published in 1882 by Birdsall and Dean (a Kansas City firm), in commenting upon early life in that part of the country, says:

"The pioneer erected his cabin upon his claim and the neighbors came from miles around to help him. They gave him the right hand of fellowship and a warm welcome, and the new settler felt at home at once. The latch-string hung on the outside, and what the cabin had was at the command of the traveler or neighbor. Corn was their principal article of food, and the wild game furnished the meat for the family. A cow was generally secured, and the pioneer then was happy as well as rich. Store goods were not often seen. Dressed deer skins served for the men's clothing, and moccasins for their feet. The pioneer's wife did the making, and spun and wove the home-made cotton for herself and daughters. Eight yards were sufficient, and a dress would last for a year or two. Sometimes a piece of gingham found its way west, but few had the wealth to purchase such costly material. An extra quality and color of homespun was the general Sunday meeting dress of the women of that day, and when the men wanted to put on style, they purchased an article of cloth called Kentucky jeans. But the dress of deer skin and a coon skin cap was all the rage in those early days for solid wear. The cabin, with either a puncheon or earthen floor, and chairs and table, was the regulation style. The fireplace took up nearly one end of the cabin, and the chimney was made of sticks and the best Daviess County mud. Now and then a cup of coffee, sweetened with honey, the product of a lucky find in the shape of a bee-tree; a juicy venison steak, or a piece of turkey, and corn-bread made of cracked or mashed corn, composed the steady week-day and Sunday diet of the old pioneer.

"The first few years, before Millport had either a habitation or a name, it was a pretty serious affair to 'go to store.' The store was

situated down on the river, at either Richmond, Liberty, Platte City or St. Joseph, and the customers came from the northern wilds of Ray County. The old pioneer loaded his ox-wagon, and with a little honey, a few venison hams, deer, mink and coon skins, and 'such kind of truck,' started in the fall for one of these far distant towns to lay in his winter supply. To go and return, the distance was from 160 to 180 miles to travel, and part of the way the roads were not all a traveler could wish for. There were 'slow' places found and here and there a hole without a bottom, but when they couldn't go around them they took their chances and went through some way. The purchases consisted of a little coffee and tea, perhaps a calico dress, some flour for company, and a jug to meet the spirit of any joyful occasion that might arise, or for a medicinal dose to benefit a deranged system. The historian will mention right here that the latter article was not used in those days for intoxicating purposes. The old pioneer was the advance-guard of civilization, but he left it to a later, and by some called a more cultured era, to introduce whisky as a beverage, and to furnish to this higher type of civilization the 'common drunkard.'

"A few years later these trips paid a little something beside expenses. Merchants made their wholesale purchases at the same towns, and the settlers hauled these goods back at the rate of sixty cents per one hundred pounds. Thus loading both ways and paying them something for the trip.

"Settlers flowed in and the year 1834 found many new-comers. Those who came in 1831 felt as though they were living in a populous country. Miles between cabins had been greatly reduced, and 'raising-bees' were becoming common and were greatly enjoyed. A new-comer cut the logs for his cabin, hauled them to the ground ready to put up, and then the neighbors came from miles around, and the way that cabin went up in a square shape, capped with weight-poles, was a 'caution to slow coaches.' And they sang at their work:

"Our cabins are made of logs of wood,

"The floors are made of puncheon,

"The roof is held by weight-poles,

"And then we 'hang off' for luncheon.

"This was followed by a 'swig from the little brown jug' kept especially for the occasion, and then with a hearty shake of the hand and a 'wish you well' the neighbors left the new-comer to put on the finishing touches to his cabin himself. And this was a 'raising-bee' in the olden times."

By an act passed by the Missouri

legislature and approved Dec. 26, 1836. Daviess County was first created; Caldwell County was organized at the same time. (See page 689.) The first election in Daviess County was held at the house of Elijah Frost, April 29, 1837. The first circuit court in the county was held in the log house of Elisha B. Creekmore, one mile from where the court-house of Gallatin now stands. Court opened in July, 1837, Judge Austin A. King presiding, and Thomas C. Burch acting as prosecuting attorney. Daviess County was then a part of the Fifth Judicial Circuit.

In 1837 the Saints, who were fast filling up Caldwell County on the south, began to extend their settlements into Daviess County, but it was not until the summer of 1838 that they located there in large numbers. The history of Daviess County, in speaking about those "Mormon" settlers, says: "It is but just to say that they (the Mormons) were an industrious, agricultural people, or at least that portion of them who located in the country round about the 'Stakes,' as these settlements (Far West, Adam-ondi-Ahman and De Witt) were called by them."

James M. Hunt, in his "History of the Mormon War," says:

"Early in 1837 Daviess County began to have an influx of Mormon immigrants. Their settlements were mainly south of Grand River. They had one settlement on Lick Fork, near the Weldon Settlement. Here a Mormon by the name of Bosley, and a widow by the name of Ives, besides others whose names are not remembered, settled. This part of the country, which is now Harrison Township, up to this time was being settled principally by Kentuckians. * * * Further up the river and in what is now Monroe Township, the Mormons formed another settlement—this was on Marrowbone and Honey Creeks, close to

where Uncle Hardin Stone then lived. Here Perry Durfey, Roswell Stevens, Henry Belt, the Daleys, and John D. Lee, settled, and others also came in, whose names are not remembered.

It would be well to state here that at this time all the lands in Daviess County, excepting Colfax Township, were subject to pre-emption, not having as yet been brought into market. Colfax Township had been surveyed at the same time Ray and Caldwell Counties were, and was therefore in market. Here another settlement of Mormons was made, composed principally of a better class who were able to purchase their lands and improve them.

"Elijah Groves, a Mormon preacher, entered the land and settled the place on which Benny Rowell died. Levi Taylor entered and settled the lands on which old Uncle John Castor died, and John Freeman settled a part of the same lands. A man by the name of Swartwout entered land now owned by Robert Castor; James Bingham entered lands now owned by Squire Kelso and Gurney Brothers. The old man Woodland settled the lands on which Madison J. Benson now lives. John L. Butler settled on the ridge north of John Castor's. Charles McGee entered and settled the lands now owned by E. Kuhns and M. W. Young. * * * There were other Mormon families in this settlement.

"Another settlement (Adam-ondi-Ahman) was made on Grand River just below the mouth of South Big Creek. * * * Lyman Wight and other Mormon notables settled here. * * * Other Mormon families were scattered here and there over the county, but these were the only settlements. Excepting the settlement in Colfax Township, the Mormons were generally of the poorer class, in many instances not having a team with which to cultivate their lands, while on the other hand the Missourians, the then settlers of Daviess County, were generally men who were in good circumstances, the most of them having large herds of horses running on the prairies, and so kindly disposed were they toward the Mormons that they permitted them to go to their herds and select any animal they chose, with which to cultivate their fields, furnishing them with provisions to be returned only when they (the Mormons) had succeeded in raising enough for themselves."

The first power of attorney recorded in Daviess County was one bearing date of Oct. 3, 1838, and ex-

ecuted by Levi Taylor and Ann Taylor, his wife, both Latter-day Saints. It authorized Abram O. Smoot (now President of the Utah Stake of Zion) "to obtain possession of a certain lot of negro men and women," the property of parties named.

The first deed recorded in Daviess County was one executed by Francis C. Case and Mary Case (witnessed by W. W. Phelps and W. Waterman Phelps), conveying "the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 58, Range 29, containing 40 acres more or less; and also the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 58 of Range 49, containing 40 acres," to Elisha H. Groves, a member of the Church, for a consideration of \$2,060. This deed is dated Jan. 13, 1838.

The first marriage certificate recorded in Daviess County was filed by a Latter-day Saint and reads as follows:

"I, Elisha H. Groves, a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, hereby certify that I solemnized the bonds of matrimony between Enoch Riggs and Ann Littlefield, both of the county of Daviess and State of Missouri, on the 27th day of May, 1838. As given under my hand this 21st day of August, 1838. ELISHA H. GROVES.

"R. WILSON, Recorder."

As the history of the persecutions of the Saints in and their final expulsion from Daviess County is given in connection with the history of Caldwell County and in the article on *Adam-ondi-Ahman* (page 45-48), we will here only make a few extracts from the above mentioned history of Daviess County, in which the author says:

"The first outbreak (of difficulties between the Saints and the Missourians) was at an election in August, 1838. (See page 598.) The Mormons were in favor of John A. Williams for sheriff and William P. Pen-

iston was indorsed by the Missourians. The latter, it must be admitted, began the row. A man by the name of Richard Weldon first commenced to abuse a Mormon preacher and finally knocked him down. The blow was uncalled for, but it seems there were a few rough characters in favor of a fight and they got it. The Mormons rushed for a pile of stakes, and grabbing these they made a vigorous onslaught. There was one man stabbed with a knife and some twenty or twenty-five others pretty badly hurt, but none were killed. The Mormons at Far West heard that a large number of their people had been killed, and they came over two hundred strong to look into the matter. This trouble laid the foundation for the succeeding troubles, and the people refused to live quietly with the Mormons around. Adam Black, who lived in what was then Grand River Township, now Jamesport, and who was a justice of the peace, made a statement under oath, before John Wright and Elijah Foley, fellow justices, that Joseph Smith and others to the number of 154, exacted from him about Aug. 8, 1838, a written promise to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and not to support a mob, nor attach himself to any mob, nor to molest the Mormons. To answer this charge, Smith, Wight and others were arrested and recognized to appear for trial. Other disturbances followed and a deputation of citizens from this county (Daviess) called for assistance. Major-General David R. Atchison, at the head of a portion of the 3rd division of militia numbering about one thousand men, came to the scene of troubles, and found the Mormons and citizens in battle array and dispersed both parties, and reported to the governor that no further depredation was to be feared from the Mormons.

"At this time disturbances also occurred in Caldwell and Carroll Counties. The citizens determined to drive the Mormons out of the State; the Mormons refused to go. Representatives from Daviess County informed General Atchison, on Sept. 10th, that they held a Mormon prisoner in custody, and that the Mormons held John Comer, William McHoney and Allen Miller, prisoners, as hostages. Certain citizens and Mormons of Carroll County petitioned the governor from De Witt, stating the commitment of lawless acts against them, among which was an order to leave the country, giving them until Oct. 1st, and they asked interference and relief. This petition was dated Sept. 22, 1838.

"The appearance of the soldiers, ordered

by the governor to look after the trouble in Daviess County, was always met by the Mormons with every appearance of peaceful intentions on their part. They were the ones that were in trouble, not the Gentiles. All the reports to the governor, from Generals Parks, Atchison and Doniphan was to the effect that the Mormons were peaceable and had no hostile intentions.

"Hostile feeling, however, culminated rapidly. The citizens, in the absence of the military, gathered their forces together over in Carroll County and on the night of Oct. 1, 1838, invested De Witt, the Mormons asking for protection and acting on the defense. They reported, also, that a portion of their assailants were on the march to Daviess County with one piece of artillery, and General Atchison wrote that nothing 'but the strongest measures within the power of the executive will put down this spirit of mobocracy.' This was in the month of October.

"The Mormons resisted, and in their turn plundered the store of Jacob Stollings in Gallatin, removed the goods and burned the store and other buildings in Gallatin and Millport. Many brutal acts were committed on both sides. * * * The citizens were now in dead earnest, and the Mormons equally so. It was war and the destruction of property on both sides, and Governor Boggs issued orders to General John B. Clark, placing him in command of the forces necessary, with instructions that he was in receipt of information of the most appalling nature, 'which entirely changed the face of things, the Mormons being in armed defiance of the laws, that they must be treated as enemies, and be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description.' (See page 705.)

"In obedience to this order General Clark, associated with General Lucas, proceeded to the seat of war, and, without much resistance, disbanded the armed forces of the Mormons, received their arms and took Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith and fifty other leading Mormons prisoners, to be tried on various charges—high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery and larceny. These men were examined before Austin A. King, then judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of which Daviess County was a part, at the session of the court in November, 1838, at Richmond, Ray County. At this examination some were discharged for lack of evidence, but Joseph Smith, (Sidney Rigdon,) Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae

and Caleb Baldwin were held for trial and committed to the Clay County jail. It was for guarding these men that Daviess County had to pay the jailers \$480. Not, however, until the justice of the claim had been decided by the court in session in Caldwell County. The property taken by the Mormons was returned by them, and the war was at an end.

"The Mormons began leaving at once, and continued until all were gone except a few who gave up their associates rather than their property and who had friends among the citizens. Many sold out for what they could get, others left being unable to sell at all. Their leaders were prisoners, their means of defense as well as offense were taken from them, and the order of the governor caused some twelve thousand of them to be driven from the State. The official statement of the number killed and wounded on both sides in this Mormon war was officially stated as 'forty Mormons killed and several wounded, and one citizen killed and fifteen badly wounded.' Messrs. Smith, Rigdon, Wight and other comrades in jail at Liberty took a change of venue to Boone County, and the Daviess County officers started with the prisoners to their destination in Boone County. Some of the prisoners having no horses, William Bowman, the first sheriff of Daviess County, furnished the prisoners three, and they left in the charge of William Morgan, the sheriff of the county. The sheriff alone returned on horseback, the guard, who accompanied him, returning on foot or 'riding and tying' by turns. The sheriff reported that the prisoners had all escaped in the night taking the horses with them, and that a search made for them proved unavailing. The people of Gallatin were greatly exercised and they disgraced themselves by very rufianly conduct. They rode the sheriff on a rail, and Bowman was dragged over the square by the hair of his head. The men guilty of these dastardly acts accused the sheriff, Morgan, and ex-sheriff, Bowman, of complicity in the escape of the Mormon leaders; that Bowman furnished the horses and that Morgan allowed them to escape, and both got well paid for their treachery. The truth of history compels us to state that the charges were never sustained by any evidence adduced by the persons who committed this flagrant act of mob law. The prisoners arrived safely on the Illinois shore and there they are left to again found a city (Nauvoo, Illinois), and to be once more driven from the land of their adoption. Joseph and Hyrum Smith were afterwards killed by an

Illinois mob, June 27, 1844, and two years later the Mormons were expelled from that State, and, under the leadership of Brigham Young, made their home on the banks of the Great Salt Lake, and Utah became their Eden, and is still their home."

With the exception of the statement in regard to the house-burning in Gallatin and Millport by the "Mormons," the above extracts are in the main correct.

GALLATIN.

Gallatin, the county seat of Daviess County, "is situated upon a portion of the highest ground in the county, and surrounded on all sides by a range of highlands, thickly studded with timber on three sides, while on the south and southwest is seen a beautiful landscape of high and rolling prairie, dotted here and there with residences, orchards and shady groves. It lies west and southwest of the Grand River, about one mile from the latter point, and is laid out upon a succession of hills, with intervening ravines, and covers about three-fourths of a section of land." It is 45 miles south of the Iowa State line, 455 miles from Chicago, 252 miles from St. Louis and 72 miles from Kansas City. It is also 60 miles northeast of Liberty, Clay Co., about 50 miles north of Richmond, Ray Co., and the same distance northeast of St. Joseph.

Gallatin was first settled in 1837. On Sept. 13th of that year the town-site was laid off and its metes and bounds given. In December following the site was surveyed into blocks and lots. The first sale of town lots took place Jan. 8, 1838; one of the first houses built was the store of Jacob S. Stollings, and during the year (1838) about half a dozen cabins were built altogether. These were all, with but one exception,

burned during the "Mormon" difficulties in October, 1838. The first election in Gallatin took place Aug. 6, 1838. It was on that occasion that the difficulties commenced between the Missourians and the Saints in Daviess County. (See page 592.)

Another event which brings Gallatin into some degree of prominence in Church history is the mock trial held over Joseph Smith and his fellow-prisoners in April, 1838, when they had succeeded in getting a change of venue from Clay to Daviess County. (See page 459.) In relation to this trial the history of Hancock County says:

"The circuit court met in April, 1839, and at this time came up the Mormon difficulty. On the second day of the session the grand jury brought in the following indictments, and prompt action was taken in their cases. It was this taking a change of venue by all the defendants to Boone County, which resulted finally in their escape from William Morgan, then sheriff, and his guard, who took charge of the prisoners to convey them to the Boone County jail. (See page 460.) And it was that escape which so incensed the people of Gallatin against the sheriff when he reported their escape, that caused the said sheriff to be rode on a rail, and William Bowman, the first sheriff, who had furnished the Mormons horses, to be dragged around the public square by the hair of his head and otherwise maltreated. The following were the persons indicted, all being Mormons, and what crime the indictments charged them with. The grand jury returned into court and presented the following indictments:

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., et al., indictment for riot.

"The State of Missouri vs. Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for arson.

"The State of Missouri vs. Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for burglary.

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for treason.

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, indictment for treason.

"The judge of this court having been counsel in this cause; and the parties herein

not consenting to a trial thereof in this court; but the said defendants, Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, objecting thereto, for the reason that the judge of this court has been of counsel in this cause: It is ordered by the court here that said cause, as to the said Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, be removed to the circuit court of the county of Boone, in the Second Judicial Circuit, in this State. It is further ordered by the court here that the sheriff of the county of Daviess do, and he is commanded, to remove the bodies of the said Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae to the jail of the county of Boone aforesaid, and there deliver them to the keeper of said jail, together with the warrant or process by which they are imprisoned or held."

Gallatin was incorporated as a city in 1857, but its growth was slow until 1870, when the first railway was built through Daviess County. Its population in 1860 was but 448, and in 1870 about 600. During the last few years Gallatin has more than doubled in population, and nearly all the fine substantial brick buildings, which now adorn the city, have been erected during the last 15 years.

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN.

The site selected May 19, 1838, by the Prophet Joseph and a number of other brethren for the building of a city, to be called Adam-on-di-Ahman, consisted of four sections of land—two miles square, lying on both sides of Grand River—namely Sections 25 and 36, in Range 28, and Sections 30 and 31, in Range 27, all in Township 60. Shortly afterwards the town site was surveyed. (See pages 45-48 and 438.) The remains of the ancient altar mentioned in the history of Joseph Smith (see page 438) are yet to be found on the top of the hill, about two hundred yards east of the old Lyman Wight residence in the southwest quarter of

Section 30. It is about 5 miles northwest of Gallatin, on the north side of Grand River. The notorious Adam Black, who acted so treacherously to the Prophet Joseph and his brethren in 1838, was the original settler on the northeast corner of Section 30. He settled there in 1834, but sold out his claim to Vinson Knight before the difficulties. (See page 441.) The history of Daviess County says: "Di-Amon (Adam-on-di-Adman) was laid off by the Mormons in acre lots and extended two miles square. It had a few permanent buildings, of which but one remains, and is now occupied by Sarah McDonald, widow of the late Major McDonald; this house was originally built for Lyman Wight. At the time the Mormons surrendered there were many temporary buildings, generally covered with rawhide. After the Mormons were driven from Di-Amon, Dr. John Cravens established a new town within the limits of the old one and called it Cravensville. This place for a long time disputed with Gallatin for the county seat; and when there were only 280 taxpayers in the county, 93 petitioned for the removal of the seat of justice to Cravensville, but the petition was rejected by the county court. This town at one time had ten or twelve dwelling-houses, a number of stores and about sixty inhabitants."

MILLPORT,

A town mentioned in Church history as the headquarters of the mob who drove the Saints from their homes in Daviess County in 1838-39, was located on what is now known as the Stephen Smith farm, at a point three miles due east of Gallatin, across Grand River, and between that stream and Big Muddy Creek,

on Section 23, Township 59 of Range 27. The municipal name of the township is Union. The distance between Millport and Adam-ondi-Ahman, both on the east side of Grand River, was about seven miles.

Millport was first settled in 1831; it was the first town in Daviess County, and up to 1837 the only one. Among its first settlers was Robert P. Peniston, who built a horse mill there, and laid it off as a town in 1836. It took its name from Peniston's mill, the only place where the pioneers of Daviess County could obtain meal or flour nearer than Richmond, or Liberty, Clay County.

"Going to Liberty, after meal," says the history of Daviess County, "or to pour the corn in a hole burned into a log and pound it, was rather up-hill work, so that the enterprise of Robert P. Peniston in putting up a corn-mill was viewed with delight. When that mill was finished it changed the whole aspect of the country. The cars of this day were not hailed with more joy or looked upon as advancing the interests of the people more than that corn-mill. Not only that, but the town of Millport came into life when that mill was completed. Josiah Morrin and his brother opened the first general store. John A. Williams is reported to have opened the first grocery store. Lomax & Jacobs kept a general store; so also did Worthington & Co.

* * * Milford Donaho, an expert rifle shot and mechanic, had his blacksmith shop there, the first in the county, and this was the way Millport, the first town within

the limits of Daviess County, started. It became noted for miles around. The old settlers who lived nearly as far east as the line of Sullivan County came to this mill to grind their corn and do their trading, and Millport flourished."

The first post office in Daviess County was opened at Millport in the fall of 1835, but after the location of the county seat at Gallatin, the office was moved to that town.

In 1835-37 Millport was the centre of a large trade, and contained, when at the height of its glory, ten dwelling-houses, three stores, a grocery, blacksmith shop, horse-mill, post office, etc. It was at the time of its existence the largest settlement of Daviess County, but in the summer of 1837 it received its death-blow by Gallatin being selected as the county seat, and it never revived after being burned during the "Mormon" difficulties in the fall of 1838.

"And now," says the history of Daviess County, "where once the metropolis of Daviess County stood, nothing is left to tell the tale. Waving fields of grain have grown and are growing where, in the early days, it was fondly hoped a town would be built that would extend its borders and its influence and become, as it then was, the centre of trade for a vast circle of country. Trade came to Millport from the distance of 40 miles, but within a circle of from 15 to 30 it was the headquarters. The population was south and west of the river, and that is why Millport that was, is not now, but is gone forever."

THE HISTORICAL RECORD is published by ANDREW JENSON, Salt Lake City, Utah. Subscription price, \$2.00 per annum. If paid strictly in advance \$1.25.

Office and P. O. Address: No. 154 N. Second West Street, Salt Lake City.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

"What thou seest, write in a book." Rev. 1, 11.

Nos. 2 & 3.

MARCH, 1889.

VOL. VIII.

QUINCY, ADAMS COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

The city of Quincy, favorably known in the history of the Church, as the place where a large number of Saints met with a friendly reception, and were released from want, and perhaps starvation, in the cold winter of 1838-39, is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, 134 miles by rail northwest of St. Louis, Mo., and 262 miles southwest of Chicago, Ill. It is the centre of eight railroads, has some fine parks and public and private buildings, together with numerous manufactories, and several academies and churches. It now has a population of about 30,000, and is the third city of the State of Illinois in size. It is most picturesquely situated about 125 feet above the river of which it commands a fine view. A splendid bridge recently built across the river connects Quincy with West Quincy on the Missouri side.

Most of the Saints who fled from Missouri in the winter of 1838-39, under the cruel exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, made their way as best they could into the State of Illinois, and a majority of them crossed the Mississippi River at Quincy, then a small city of a few

thousand inhabitants. The distance from Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, from where most of the exiles came, was about 150 miles in a straight line, but the way the roads ran it was nearly 200 miles. When it is remembered that the roads were bad and heavy and the weather extremely cold, it is no wonder that a number of the exiles succumbed to their hardships and sufferings and found an untimely grave, before they could travel that distance and reach the land that would give them temporary shelter. It is not known how many of the Saints lost their lives during the Missouri persecutions. Some Church writers state the number to be three hundred, including those who were killed outright, and who died on the journey fleeing from their persecutors, and those who afterwards died in consequence of their sufferings and exposure at the time of the exodus. This is probably correct.

The Saints who were stripped of nearly all their earthly possessions, were necessarily in a deplorable and wanting condition, when they, bleeding and broken-hearted, arrived at Quincy, and they soon excited the sympathy of the citizens of that town

and its vicinity. A kindly reception was given the homeless outcasts—a reception very similar to the one given to many of the same people by the inhabitants of Clay County, Missouri, when a cruel persecution had driven about twelve hundred of them from their homes in Jackson County five years before.

The Democratic Association of Quincy took the lead in extending relief to the "Mormon" exiles. On Feb. 23, 1839, a meeting was held by this association for the purpose of inquiring into the situation of the Saints. About all that was done at this meeting was to pass a resolution to the effect that the people called Latter-day Saints were in a situation requiring the aid of the people of Quincy. A committee of eight was appointed to call a general meeting of both citizens and "Mormons," and to receive a statement from the "Mormons" of their condition, with a view to relieving their necessities. The committee was instructed to get the Congregational church in which to hold the next meeting, but the directors having in charge that building would not allow it to be used for that purpose. Failing to secure the church, the second meeting was held in the court-house.

At this meeting, held Wednesday evening Feb. 27th, the special committee appointed at the first meeting reported their labors. They had received statements from Sidney Rigdon and others in relation to the expulsion of the "Mormons" from Missouri, and suggested a series of resolutions setting forth that the exiled strangers were entitled to the sympathy and aid of the people of Quincy; that a numerous committee composed of individuals from every

part of the town be appointed to allay the prejudices of the misguided citizens of Quincy, and explain that it was not the design of the "Mormons" to lower the wages of the laboring classes, but to secure something to save them from starvation; that a standing committee be appointed to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and houseless, and to use their utmost endeavors to procure employment for those who were able and willing to labor. The report closed by saying:

"We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration."

This good work begun by the Democratic Association was continued by them, and substantial assistance was given to the suffering Saints, through their exertion, in behalf of the afflicted. At a subsequent meeting of the association, held Feb. 28th, the following resolutions were adopted:

"That we regard the right of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government.

"That we regard the acts of all mobs in violation of law, and those who compose them, individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights or life of any citizen.

"That the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the State of Missouri, in their late persecution of the people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience and every law of justice and humanity.

"That the governor of Missouri in refusing protection to this class of people, when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermin-

nation, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the State over which he presides."

Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Quincy assist the Saints, and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity alone, but it extended throughout the State. And especially among the leading men thereof, including Governor Thos. Carlin, Stephen A. Douglass, Dr. Galland and others.

In the meantime the Saints continued to cross the river from Missouri. The family of Joseph the Prophet arrived at Quincy in care of Stephen Markham, Feb. 15, 1839. Shortly afterwards Brigham Young and other leading men of the Church (whose lives were sought by the Missourians) fled from their persecutors and joined those who had preceded them at Quincy, where their presence was much needed to administer council and comfort to their fellow-sufferers.

At a special conference of the Church held in Quincy, March 17, 1839, Brigham Young, who presided over the conference, explained to the assembled Saints the circumstances of the Church at the time and the situation of the scattered members. He advised the Saints to settle, if possible, in companies, or in such a way that they could be organized into branches, so that they might be "fed by the shepherds; for without, the sheep would be scattered." After transacting various other business, Elder George W. Harris spoke about those who had left the Church during the time of perils, persecutions and dangers, and were now acting against the interests of the Saints. After a full expression of the conference, it was

unanimously voted that the following persons be excommunicated from the Church: Geo. M. Hinkle, Sampson Avard, John Corrill, Reed Peck, Wm. W. Phelps, Frederick G. Williams, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs and several others.

April 22, 1839, the Prophet Joseph arrived among the Saints in Quincy, having at last escaped from his enemies in Missouri, after a cruel imprisonment of over five months in that State. (See page 460.) Steps were immediately taken to secure a new location unto which the Saints might gather. (See page 464 and *Nauvoo*.)

Among the members of the Church who flocked into Quincy there were a few bad characters who were altogether unworthy of the association of Saints, and who preyed upon the hospitality of the people of Quincy to such an extent that the Church authorized Apostle John Taylor to write the following letter, which was published in the *Quincy Argus* about the 1st of May, 1839:

"In consequence of so great an influx of strangers, arriving in this place daily, owing to their late expulsion from the State of Missouri, there must of necessity be, and we wish to state to the citizens of Quincy, and the vicinity, through the medium of your columns, that there are many individuals among the numbers who have already arrived, as well as among those who are now on their way here, who never did belong to our Church, and others who once did, but who, for various reasons, have been expelled from our fellowship. Amongst these are some who have contracted habits, which are at variance with principles of moral rectitude (such as swearing, dram-drinking, etc.), which immoralities the Church of Latter-day Saints is liable to be charged with, owing to our amalgamation under our late existing circumstances. And as we as a people do not wish to lay under any such imputation, we would also state, that such individuals do not hold a name or a place amongst us; that we altogether discounte-

nance everything of the kind; that every person once belonging to our community, contracting or persisting in such immoral habits, have hitherto been expelled from our society; and that such as we may hereafter be informed of, we will hold no communication with, but will withdraw our fellowship from them.

"We wish further to state, that we feel laid under peculiar obligations to the citizens of this place for the patriotic feelings which have been manifested, and for the hand of liberality and friendship which was extended to us, in our late difficulties; and should feel sorry to see that philanthropy and benevolence abused by wicked and designing people, who, under pretense of poverty and distress, should try to work up the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into their debt without any prospect or intention of paying, and finally, perhaps, we as a people be charged with dishonesty.

"We say that we altogether disapprove of such practices, and we warn the citizens of Quincy against such individuals who may pretend to belong to our community."

This letter bears evidence of the honesty of the Church, and shows its disposition to treat the people of Illinois, who had so nobly and kindly received its members in the days of their distress, with candor.

"About this time too," writes Elder B. H. Roberts in his article "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo" published in the *Contributor*, "the good feelings entertained towards the Saints by the people of Quincy and vicinity was not a little endangered through the unwise course of Lyman Wight. He began the publication of a series of letters in the Quincy *Whig*, in which he laid the responsibility of the outrages perpetrated against the Saints in Missouri upon the Democratic party, implicating not only the Democrats of Missouri, but indirectly the National Democratic Party. This gave much dissatisfaction to members of that party in the vicinity of Quincy, who had been very active in assisting the Saints; and a number of the leading

men approached prominent brethren, who still remained in Quincy, and desired to know if the Church sustained the assertions of Lyman Wight. Under date of May 13, 1839, Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to President Joseph Smith on the subject, in which he protested against the course taken by Wight, because of the influence it was having on many of those who had so nobly befriended the Saints in the day of their distress. Besides it was altogether unjust, for no particular political party in Missouri was responsible for the black cruelty practiced towards the Saints. Those who were in the mobs which robbed them of their homes, burned their houses, ran off their stock, and who whipped, murdered and finally drove the people from the State of Missouri, were made up of individuals of every shade of political faith, and of every religion, and many of no religion whatever. It was unfair then, under these circumstances, that the responsibility should be laid at the charge of any one party or sect of religion. So that Wight's course was not only doing much mischief, but was also unjust.

"To counteract the evil effect of Lyman Wight's communications to the *Whig*, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, the First Presidency of the Church, published a letter in the *Whig*, dated May 17, 1839, from which we make the following extract:

"We have not at any time thought there was any political party, as such, chargeable with the Missouri barbarities, neither any religious society, as such. They were committed by a mob, composed of all parties, regardless of difference of opinion, either political or religious.

"The determined stand in this State, and by the people of Quincy in particular, made

against the lawless outrages of the Missouri mobbers by all parties in politics and religion, have entitled them equally to our thanks and our profoundest regards, and such, gentlemen, we hope they will always receive from us. * * * We wish to say to the public, through your paper, that we disclaim any intention of making a political question of our difficulties with Missouri, believing that we are not justified in so doing.

"Lyman Wight was a bold, independent spirited man; inclined to be self-willed and refractory. No one could control him; and even counsel or advice was usually disregarded—except it was from Joseph Smith. A few years subsequent to the time of which we are now writing, Lyman Wight himself said: 'Joseph Smith is the only man who ever did control me; he is the only man who ever shall.' But to Joseph's words Lyman Wight gave respectful attention, and bent his own strong will to comply with the wishes of the Prophet. He himself was a master spirit, and could apparently bring himself to acknowledge but one to whom he was willing to yield his own judgment, and his own will, and that one was Joseph Smith. And it is said by those acquainted with him, that in the Prophet's hands his spirit was as pliable as that of a child. * * *

"In reply to the letter of R. B. Thompson, the First Presidency writing under date of May 25th admitted, that the course of Wight was unfair, and said the Church was not willing to make of their troubles a political question; but they also said that they considered it to be 'the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics and religion;' and therefore would have it understood that, as an individual, Lyman Wight had the

right to entertain and express whatever opinion he pleased in regard to their troubles in Missouri; only intimating that care should be taken not to set forth individual views as the views of the Church. In writing to Lyman Wight on the subject, under date of May 27, 1839, Joseph did not upbraid him, nor peremptorily order him to discontinue the publication of his letters, or retract them, but he informed him that the matter had been considered in a council of the Church, and that the result was that his course was disapproved. But Joseph took occasion to express his confidence in Wight's good intentions, and said:

"Knowing your integrity of principle, and steadfastness in the cause of Christ, I feel not to exercise even the privilege of counsel on the subject, save only to request that you will endeavor to bear in mind the importance of the subject, and how easy it might be to get a misunderstanding with the brethren concerning it; and though last, but not least, that whilst you continue to go on upon your own credit, you will steer clear of making the Church appear as either supporting or opposing you in your politics, lest such a course may have a tendency to bring about persecution on the Church, where a little wisdom and caution may avoid it.

"I do not know that there is any occasion for my thus cautioning you in this thing, but having done so, I hope it will be well taken, and that all things shall eventually be found to work together for the good of the Saints. * * *

"With every possible feeling of love and friendship for an old fellow-prisoner and brother in the Lord, I remain, Sir, your sincere friend."

"Throughout this whole affair it will be observed that Joseph starts out with the idea that every individual is absolutely free and independent as to entertaining views and in giving expression to them, both in politics and religion, so long as he makes no one else responsible for

them. That in correcting Lyman Wight he does it by appealing to the man's reason, and by pointing out the possible result of his course, which may be avoided by a little discretion; while the whole communication breathes such a spirit of confidence in the man he is correcting, and love for him as an 'old fellow-prisoner,' that it was altogether irresistible. And this is the secret of Joseph's power to control his brethren. There was no petty tyranny in his government. He was above that. Every right he claimed for himself, he accorded to others. While his mildness in correcting errors and his unbounded love for his brethren knit them to him in bands stronger than steel. It was ever his method to teach correct principles and let men govern themselves.

"Sidney Rigdon succeeded in escaping from the prison in Missouri before Joseph and the other brethren, who were confined in Liberty jail. And on his arrival in Quincy, his position as one of the Presidents of the Church, his education and eloquence, gave him the attention of the leading citizens of Quincy, and particularly enlisted the sympathy of Governor Carlin, of Illinois. By coming in contact with him, and relating the cruelties practiced against the Saints in Missouri, he conceived the idea of impeaching the character of Missouri on an item in the Constitution, viz., 'that the general government shall give to each State a republican form of government.' And it was his point to prove that such a government did not exist in Missouri. His plan was to present the story of the Saints' wrongs to the governors of the respective States, before the assembly of the several

legislatures, and induce as many of them as possible to bring the case before the legislatures in their messages. Another part of the plan was to have a man at each State capital armed with affidavits that would give the necessary information to the legislatures. After the action of the State legislatures the case was to be presented to Congress for its consideration and action.

"To carry out his plans George W. Robinson was appointed to take affidavits and collect general information bearing on the subject. And Sidney Rigdon secured a letter of introduction to the governors of several States and to the President of the United States from Governor Thomas Carlin, of Illinois, and Governor Robert Lucas, of Iowa."

This gigantic plan arranged by Sidney Rigdon for the impeachment of Missouri was like many of his other plans—altogether impracticable. It was therefore abandoned by Joseph and the Church, and the policy adopted of appealing directly to Congress and the President.

At a conference of the Church held on the Presbyterian camp ground near Quincy, May 4th, 5th and 6th, 1839, it was unanimously resolved:

"That Almon W. Babbitt, Erastus Snow and Robert B. Thompson be appointed a traveling committee to gather up and obtain all the libelous reports and publications which have been circulated against our Church, as well as other historical matter connected with said Church, that they possibly can obtain.

"That this conference do entirely sanction the purchase lately made for the Church in the Iowa Territory, and also the agency thereof.

"That Elder Oliver Granger be appointed to go to Kirtland, Ohio, and take the charge and oversight of the House of the Lord, and preside over the general affairs of the Church in that place.

"That the advice of this conference to the brethren living in the Eastern States is, for them to move to Kirtland, and the vicinity thereof, and again settle that place as a Stake of Zion; provided they feel so inclined, in preference to their moving further west.

"That this conference are entirely satisfied with, and give their sanction to the proceedings of the conference of the Twelve and their friends, held on the Temple spot at Far West, Missouri, on Friday, the 26th of April last.

"That they also sanction the act of the council held the same date and same place, in cutting off from the communion of said Church certain persons mentioned in the minutes thereof.

"That Elders Orson Hyde and William Smith be allowed the privilege of appearing personally before the next General Conference of the Church, to give an account of their conduct; and that in the meantime they be both suspended from exercising the functions of their office.

"That the conference do sanction the mission intended for the Twelve to Europe, and that they will do all in their power to enable them to go.

"That this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington, to lay our case before the General Government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate.

"That Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington.

"That Elder William Marks be hereby appointed to preside over the Church at Commerce, Ill.

"That the following of the Seventies have the sanction of this council to accompany the Twelve to Europe, namely, Theodore Turley, George Pitkin, Joseph Bates Noble, Charles Hubbard, John Scott, Lorenzo D. Young, Samuel Mulliner, Willard Snow, John Snider, William Burton, Lorenzo D. Barne, John Holmes, Abram O. Smoot, Elias Smith; also the following High Priests, namely, Henry G. Sherwood, John Murdock, Winslow Farr, William Snow, Hiram Clark.

"That Elder J. P. Greene be appointed to go to the city of New York and preside over the churches there, and in the regions round about."

May 9, 1839, Joseph left Quincy, with his family, and removed to Commerce (afterwards Nauvoo). About the same time the majority of the

Saints who had been so kindly treated by the citizens of Quincy also removed to Hancock Co., Ill., and Lee County, Iowa, which had been selected as gathering places for the Saints.

Quincy, however, continued to be the home of a number of Saints for some time afterwards. On the 25th of October, 1840, a Stake of Zion was organized there, of which Daniel Stanton was appointed President, with Stephen Jones and Ezra T. Benson as his Counselors. Also a Bishopric, consisting of George W. Crouse (Bishop), Azariah Dustin and Sylvester B. Stoddard (Counselors), was appointed at the same time. This Stake organization existed until the following spring (1840), when all Stakes outside of Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, were discontinued, and all who obeyed the council of the constituted Church authorities removed to these places. Notwithstanding this we find that as late as Feb. 18, 1843, when a conference was held in Quincy, the branch of the Church there was represented to consist of 77 members, including 2 High Priests, 5 Elders, 1 Priest, 1 Teacher and 1 Deacon, mostly in good standing.

Friendly relations continued between the citizens of Quincy and the Saints as long as the latter remained in Illinois, and at the time of the exodus in 1846, Mayor John Wood and other leading men of Quincy, took an active part in trying to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties existing between the contending parties; and the citizens of Quincy again rendered the Saints substantial aid while they were fleeing away from the borders of civilization.

HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Hancock County, Illinois, the headquarters of the Church from 1839 to 1846, is situated about forty miles north of the centre of the State of Illinois, on its west line, and within what is known as the "Military Bounty Land Tract." It is bounded on the south by Adams County, to which it was attached from 1825 to 1829, east by McDonough and Schuyler, north by Henderson, and west by the Mississippi River, which separates it from Clarke County, Missouri, and Lee County, Iowa, and constitutes about two-fifths of its whole boundary. It lies between 40 degrees and 10 minutes and 40 degrees and 40 minutes north latitude; and between 13 degrees and 35 minutes and 14 degrees and 5 minutes west longitude from Washington. It is 30 miles long from north to south, and on an average of 24 miles wide from east to west—its northern line measuring just 12 miles to its intersection with the Mississippi, while its southern measures a little over 30 miles. Its western line, following the meanderings of the river, measures about 45 miles.

The county includes 16 whole congressional townships and 8 fractional ones (the 8 being about equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ whole ones), subdivided into 769 square miles, or sections, containing about 492,160 acres.

The central portion of the county is composed of one grand prairie, bordered on the west by the wooded bluffs of the Mississippi, and east and south by the timber lands skirting the margins of Crooked and Bear Creeks, and their numerous tributaries.

The Burlington branch of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, passing through the county from Dallas City to the southwest corner of Section 35, Township 3 north, of Range 7 west, cuts it into two nearly equal parts; while an east and west line, following the T., W. & W. Railroad to Carthage, thence east through the centre of Carthage and Hancock Townships, would divide it into nearly equal portions in the other direction. The east half of the county contains the most woodland, being intersected by the many streams tributary to Crooked Creek. Most of the woodlands bordering on Bear Creek and branches are in the west half.

The soil upon the prairie land is usually a deep black loam, with a brown clay subsoil. On the ridges that skirt the streams the soil is usually a chocolate brown, loamy clay, becoming locally light brown or yellow, on the slopes of the hills, from the predominant character of the subsoil. The timber on these ridges consists for the most part of black and white oak and hickory, with an undergrowth of red-bud, sassafras and hazel. On the more level portions of the timbered uplands we find, in addition to these, elm, linden, wild cherry and honey locust. The soil on the lands where the last named varieties of timber are found is fully equal, in its productive capacity, to that of the prairies, while that on the oak ridges is comparatively thin. In the southwest portion of the county there is a wide belt of alluvial bottom skirting the Mississippi River, commencing at the city of Warsaw, and extending

to the south line of the county, with an average width of about three miles. A part of this bottom is prairie, and a part is covered with a heavy growth of timber, consisting of cottonwood, sycamore, red and slippery elm, black and white walnut, ash, hackberry, honey locust, pecan, persimmon, pawpaw, coffee-nut, white maple, red birch, linden and mulberry, and the common varieties of oak, and shell-bark and pig-nut hickory. The greater portion of this bottom is susceptible of cultivation, and possesses a sandy soil that is not surpassed in its productive capacities, by any other portion of the county. It is subject to overflow, however, during seasons of extraordinary high water.

Springs are not abundant in the county, but are occasionally found at the base of the river bluffs and in the valleys of the small streams. Good wells are usually obtained on the uplands at depths varying from twenty to forty feet. All the uplands are covered by accumulations of drift, varying in thickness from twenty to sixty feet or more.

"A large portion of the material composing the drift deposits," writes Mr. Worthen, in his "Geology of Illinois," "has been transported from a distance, and many of the boulders are derived from the metamorphic strata of Lake Superior, several hundred miles from the spot where they are found. Many of these boulders are of great size and many tons weight, and must have required a mighty force to transport them to their present position. One of these may be seen at the foot of the bluffs between Nauvoo and Appanoose, composed of the metamorphic rock of the Northwest, which is

nearly twenty feet in diameter. The power required to wrench such a mass of rock from its native bed and transport it, for hundreds of miles, with a force sufficient to obliterate all its angles, is inconceivably great; but here is the boulder of granite, nearly five hundred miles, as the crow flies, from the nearest known outcrop of this kind of rock, giving unmistakable evidence that such a result has been accomplished. Several specimens of native copper have been found in the drift deposits of this county, which, from their appearance, leave no doubt that they have been transported from the copper region of Lake Superior."

Hancock County is well supplied with good building stone. There are numerous mounds throughout the county, as in many other sections of the State and the whole Mississippi valley. They are found chiefly on the bluffs bordering the river and the smaller streams. In some instances they are in the open prairie, but most of them are in the timbered lands, and often covered with large trees. They are mostly small, of various sizes and elevations, from a few feet in height up to 15 or 20, and from 10 to 40 or 50 feet in diameter.

Two larger mounds, however, are known. One of these is the Gittings Mound in the north part of the county, which covers nearly a section of land and is perhaps 50 feet high. The other is what is known as the "Big Mound" in Appanoose Township. This mound, which is situated about seven miles east of Nauvoo, on the open prairie, is mentioned several times in the history of Joseph Smith. On the east, south and west of it, the prairie is quite level for several miles, but on the north it is

approached by the broken timbered lands skirting the river bluffs. It is not less than 40 to 50 feet high, while it is about one-fourth of a mile in diameter. It belongs to the estate of the late Amos Davis, who chose it for the site of his fine residence, which occupies its summit.

The population of Hancock County in 1880, according to the U. S. census, was 35,376 (559 less than in 1870), divided among its 26 townships as follows:

Augusta Township.....	1,894
St. Mary's Township.....	1,538
Hancock Township.....	1,130
Fountain Green Township.....	1,254
La Harpe Township.....	1,898
Chili Township.....	1,418
Harmony Township.....	1,246
Carthage Township.....	2,686
Pilot Grove Township.....	1,229
Durham Township.....	1,098
St. Alban's Township.....	1,280
Bear Creek Township.....	1,189
Prairie Township.....	1,229
Rock Creek Township.....	1,444
Pontoosuc Township.....	789
Dallas Township.....	1,144
Walker Township.....	1,612
Wythe Township.....	1,135
Montebello Township.....	1,977
Sonora Township.....	1,399
Appanose Township.....	846
Rocky Run Township.....	855
Wilcox Township.....	588
Warsaw Township.....	3,105
Nauvoo Township.....	1,399

The eight principal towns of the county at that time ranked in population as follows: Warsaw 3,105; Carthage, the county seat, 1,594; Nauvoo 1,402; Hamilton 1,025; Augusta 1,015; La Harpe 958; Dallas 714, and Plymouth, 593.

HISTORY.

That part of Illinois which now constitutes Hancock County, was first settled in 1814 by the establishment of Fort Johnson and Fort Edwards on the present site of Warsaw. Fort Johnson was burned by

the troops a few months after it was first located, but Fort Edwards existed until 1824, when it was evacuated and its garrison removed to Fort Armstrong.

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818. Only eight or ten counties, including Madison, had then been organized. Out of Madison Pike County was formed in 1821, and in 1825 several counties were formed from the latter, among which were Adams and Hancock Counties—the latter being attached to Adams until such time as its population would justify a separate organization.

Whether there was at the date of the State's admission into the Union a single white inhabitant, other than the garrison at Fort Edwards, within the territory now included in Hancock County, is not known; but there were a few in 1825, when Adams County was organized.

Hancock was first organized as a separate county in 1829, and the order issued for its organization represented that the county at that time contained 350 persons, the number fixed by law to enable it to maintain a separate existence. Counting one to five of its population would give it 70 adult male citizens. At the first session of the county commissioners court, held in August, 1829, there were 66 men chosen to serve as jurors and fill the various offices in the county. Thus it will be seen that it required nearly all the male citizens to put the county machinery in motion.

In the history of Hancock County by Thomas Gregg, published in 1880, the status of the county at the time the Saints settled there is given in the following language:

"At that time (1839) there was a little village on the river shore, where Nauvoo now stands, called Commerce, with but a few houses. Below was the farm of Hugh White, and out northeast on the hill, where the Temple since stood, was the farm of Daniel H. Wells, another old settler, who * * * joined the Church, and finally left with the rest for Salt Lake, where he has since become a leader high in authority among them. Alongside of this village of Commerce lay the lots and squares, and streets and parks of Commerce City—a *paper town* which, a few months before, had been ushered into existence by a brace of Eastern speculators.

"Opposite, across the Mississippi, in the then Territory of Iowa, stood the barracks of the old fort Des Moines, but lately vacated by the U. S. Dragoons and occupied by a few settlers. Here was also the land-office of the New York half-breed land company. The village of Keokuk, on the same side and twelve miles below, also on the half-breed lands, had but a few inhabitants, while Fort Madison, above, had a somewhat larger population.

"In Hancock County was Warsaw, 18 miles below, with a population of, say, 300; Carthage, the county seat, had not so many; Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth; Fountain Green, La Harpe, Chili, and a few others, had been laid out (chiffy in 1836), and contained each a few families, and were in the midst of young and fast growing settlements. There was no newspaper in the county; *The Carthaginian*, at Carthage, had, in 1836-37, a sickly existence, and had now 'gone where the woodbine twineth.' The population of the

county was probably 6,000; by the census of 1840 it was 10,000, including the then Mormon emigrants.*

"Such was the status of Hancock County and its neighborhood when the Mormon exodus from Missouri began. That people crossed directly eastward to Quincy, in Illinois, through North Missouri, as the nearest and best route to a place of safety. Their leader was yet in jail, but he, somehow escaping, soon made his appearance among them, and at once began operations for planting a 'new Stake,' and gathering his followers around him. The first intention was to settle on the half-breed lands in Iowa, to which Smith had been invited through correspondence with Dr. Isaac Galland before leaving Missouri. Dr. Galland had interest in those lands, and also resided and held some interest at Commerce. For various reasons, chief of which was imperfect title, the negotiation as to the half-breed lands fell through, and the main body of the Mormons remained in Hancock County, though numbers had already settled on the other side of the river."

NAUVOO.

Nauvoo is situated on the east bank, of the Mississippi River, in Hancock County, Illinois, near the head of what are usually called the Des Moines Rapids, 12 miles by river above Keokuk (Iowa) and Hamilton (Illinois), 18 miles above Warsaw (Illinois), 50 miles above Quincy, (Illinois), 190 miles above St. Louis (Mo.) and 1,200 miles above New

*The official census for 1840 gives the population of Hancock County as follows: 5,284 males, 4,724 females; total 10,008. Of this number 1,838 were subject to military duty. In 1830 the population of the county was 448, thus showing an increase of 9,560 during the ten years.

Orleans. It is also 9 miles by river below Fort Madison (Iowa), 30 miles below Burlington (Iowa), and 100 miles below Rock Island (Iowa).

The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful situation. "Carrying with it also," says the Prophet Joseph, "the idea of rest." And, indeed, the location of the city is most commanding and beautiful. But few, if any, sites on the Mississippi River, all the way from New Orleans to the head-waters of navigation, can compare with it. No sooner does one come in view of it than he exclaims: "It is rightly named." The Mississippi, which, opposite what was once Commerce, is over a mile in width, gracefully sweeps round its rock-bound shore in a semi-circle, then falls off to the first chain of the rapids. Above the city the river approaches in a westerly course; below, it glides winding over the rapids southward, presenting a long reach of green and wooded bluffs on either side to Keokuk and Hamilton. From the immediate bank of the river—a few feet above high water mark—the ground is nearly level for six or seven blocks, when begins a gradual ascent to the Temple Block, where, after a rise of 60 or 70 feet, it again falls off to the common level of the prairie, which stretches out to the eastward further than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, relieved here and there by patches of timber, but now chequered with meadows and well cultivated farms. Within the city limits there are a few bad ravines and broken bluffs, which break the monotony and give variety to the landscape.

The curve of the river around the city forms a somewhat pointed half circle. A straight line back of it, from where it intersects the shore above and below, will measure about four miles; while the water line measurement around its western side is nearly twice that distance.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and are covered for the most part with a fine growth of timber. Nestling near the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river is the little town of Montrose. Back of the bluffs rolls off the alternate prairie and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island about three-fourths of a mile in length and from 50 to 200 yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south. On this island is a heavy growth of small timber, which prevents Montrose from being seen from the opposite Nauvoo shore.

The Des Moines Rapids below Nauvoo were formerly a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi River at this point, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty of late, however, has been obviated by the general government building a fine canal running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Nashville, a distance of seven miles. It cost about four million dollars.

The history of Nauvoo commences with Captain James White, a native of Ohio, who emigrated to Missouri Territory in 1818, three years before

it became a State.. In 1823 or 1824 he came to reside and trade with the Sac and Fox Indians, who at that time had a large village of some 400 or 500 lodges at the head of the rapids where Nauvoo afterwards was built. In 1824 the treaty was made with those Indians by the Federal Government, by which they relinquished their lands on the east side of the river. Captain White wishing to obtain possession of the site of their village, induced them to vacate in his favor in consideration of 200 sacks of corn, which he paid them. They then loaded their *wik-ke-ups* and other "plunder" into their canoes and paddled across the Mississippi to the Iowa shore. On the vacated spot Mr. White opened out a farm, but his chief occupation during the remainder of his life—or until the business was superseded by steamboats—was that of keelboating on the Mississippi. His old residence stood on the bank of the river near where the Nauvoo House or L. C. Bidamon's residence now stands, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids.

A few years after he settled there a post office—the first one in Hancock County—was established at, or near his residence, and called Venus. The name was perhaps suggested by Mr. White, but the Hancock County records do not show that a town ever was laid out by that name. Venus contained the residence of Captain White, a store owned by Alexander White, one of the captain's sons, and the residence of George Y. Cutler, near by. But whether these houses were near enough together to constitute a village is unknown.

We have been unable to learn what year the post office of Venus was first established, or who the first

postmaster was, but it seems that the place was known as Venus in 1829, when the first court was held in Hancock County. At that time there were only two villages in the county—Venus and Montebello, the latter being situated on the river a few miles below Venus. At Montebello the first session of the Hancock County court was held, and the two neighborhoods competed with each other for the possession of the county seat, neither, however, being successful in obtaining what was desired, as Carthage, which was more centrally located, was selected for the county seat in 1833.

Captain White died in June, 1837. One of his sons, Hugh White (of whom the Church bought their first parcel of land in Hancock County in 1839), resided for many years near the old place and followed the business of steamboat piloting; he was widely known between St. Louis and Galena.

In 1834 a town was laid out by Joseph B. Teas and Alexander White about a mile up the river from Venus and called Commerce, and about three years later, in 1837, Commerce City, immediately above its namesake on the river was laid out by Horace R. Hotchkiss and John Gillett, two speculators from Connecticut. The streets of these two *paper towns* were laid out square with the shore opposite them, and were afterwards included in Nauvoo, although not made a part of the plat of that city.

In the fall of 1838, a brother in the Church by the name of Israel Barlow left the State of Missouri under the exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. By missing his way, or, what is more likely,

directed by the hand of a kind providence, he did not leave the State by the same route as the great body of the people, but, taking a northeasterly course, struck the Des Moines River a short distance above the mouth, in the Territory of Iowa. He was without food, destitute of clothing and in a sad condition. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the State *en masse*. His relation of the sufferings of the Saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors enlisted their sympathies, and they gave Elder Barlow letters of introduction to several gentlemen; among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence living at Commerce. Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce, and under date of Feb. 26, 1839, he wrote to the Saints located in Quincy, that several farms could doubtless be rented in that locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to the Church, another and a previous one had been made of 20,000 acres, between the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers. This tract was offered for sale at \$2.00 per acre, to be paid in 20 annual payments without interest.

Cosequently a conference was convened by the Saints at Quincy in February, 1839, and the advisability of making the purchase, and settling the Saints in a body came up for consideration. But it was decided

at that time that it was not advisable to locate lands at present.

Subsequently, however, March 9, 1839, the Saints, having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa, the people and officers of the Territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiled Saints. Robert Lucas, the governor of Iowa, had known the Saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the "Mormon" people, when they were in Ohio, were good and virtuous citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in his Territory. In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney general for the same Territory, gave him to understand that he would so far as within his power, protect the "Mormon" people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing, was ever done by this committee.

Joseph's arrival at Quincy, April 22, 1839, was the signal for action. Two days after his arrival (April 24th) he called and presided over a council of the Church, at which, in connection with Bishop Vinson Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled Saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

The committee appointed started

for Iowa on the 25th (April), and spent several days looking at the different locations which were presented in Lee County, Iowa, and about Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois. On the 1st of May, Joseph, in connection with other members of the committee, purchased from Hugh White a farm of 135 acres, for which they agreed to pay \$5,000; also another and larger farm (lying west of the White purchase) of Dr. Isaac Galland for \$9,000. The committee desired that these farms should be deeded to Alanson Ripley, but Sidney Rigdon, manifesting a rather sour disposition, said that no committee should control any property that he had anything to do with. So the purchase made of Dr. Galland was deeded to Rigdon's son-in-law, George W. Robinson, with the understanding that he should deed it to the Church as soon as they had paid for it according to the contract. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce, and the place is thus described by Joseph:

"When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there were one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce. *

* * The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthy that very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

The small collection of houses mentioned by Joseph, was situated immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo

were one stone and three small log houses. It was one of these humble dwellings (one of the log houses) into which Joseph moved with his family May 10, 1839. This house also stood on the bank of the river about a mile south of Commerce City on grounds that afterwards became "Block 155 of the White Purchase" or the corner of Water and Main Streets. The Nauvoo House was subsequently commenced on the block lying immediately east of it, across Main Street.

In the forepart of June, 1839, Elder Theodore Turley raised the first house built by the Saints in Commerce, on "Lot 4, Block 147, of the White Purchase," or on the corner of what afterwards were named Water and Carlin Streets, on the same block upon which Joseph afterwards built the Nauvoo Mansion.

After securing the first farms of Hugh White and Doctor Galland, the Church subsequently made more extensive purchases of Dr. Galland, Davidson Hibbard, Daniel H. Wells, Horace R. Hotchkiss, Wm. White and others. At intervals, down to May, 1843, Nauvoo received as many as fifteen additions by Hiram and Ethan Kimball, Hyrum Smith, Daniel H. Wells, Davidson Hibbard, Herringshaw & Thompson, George W. Robinson, Joseph Smith, James Robinson's heirs, Benjamin Warington and John T. Barnett. Some of these additions lie in Sonora Township.

Considerable difficulty and embarrassment to Joseph personally and to the Church arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph for the Church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for

which he was to receive \$53,500, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges that were made of property in the East, by some of the Saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; but this matter was finally amicably settled.

The terms on which Dr. Galland let the Church have lands were extremely advantageous to the Saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritances they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the Saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of \$80,000. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence, all of which he used for the good of the exiled Saints in giving them a character among his friends. Finally, he joined the Church, thus casting his lot with the exiled people he had assisted, and from that time until his death partook of their joys and their sorrows, and shared their fortunes and reverses.

In addition to these land purchases in Hancock County, the village of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, and 20,000 acres of land adjoining was bought. (See *Nashville*.) Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Vinson Knight, and a settle-

ment started there, called Zarahemla, which was opposite Nauvoo. (See *Zarahemla*.)

"During the summer of 1839" writes B. H. Roberts, "the Saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Commerce, and settle on the lands which had been purchased by the Church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well nigh wrecked the people. They had been stripped of their earthly possessions, until they were reduced to the most abject poverty. And the exposure and hardships endured, made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. Another thing which doubtless contributed to make them unable to resist the ravages of disease, was the fact that a period of relaxation was following the intense excitement, under which they had lived for nearly a year past.

"The spirit has such power over the body when it is once thoroughly aroused, that for a time it so braces up the body that it is almost impregnable to disease, and knows no fatigue. But this cannot continue long. It wears out the body; and as soon as the excitement is removed, then comes the period of relaxation, when the body sinks down from sheer exhaustion.

"Such was the condition of the exiled Saints who came flocking into Nauvoo, in the summer of 1839. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from that State was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria. Such was their

condition on the morning of the 22nd of July. Joseph's house was crowded with the sick that he was trying to nurse back to health. In his doorway were a number of people camped in tents, who had but newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the Saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the purifying influence of God's Spirit rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his door-yard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed of their sickness." (See page 473.)

The Twelve Apostles, having returned from their visit to Far West in fulfillment of a revelation (see page 466), now began to make preparations to further comply with the words of God commanding them to "depart to go over the great waters, and there promulgate the Gospel." (See page 437.) Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Commerce for England. Elder Woodruff at this time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young, Aug. 8, 1839. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. While there President Joseph Smith came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?"

"Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply.

"What did you say that for?" asked Joseph, "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they started on their mission. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bare headed and bare footed, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

Aug. 29th, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the 14th of the following month Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time with sickness, and at the time of starting on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only about thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten days old, and in the poorest of circumstances; for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain

there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing that he was unable to get further than Brother Kimball's, had a boy carry her in a wagon to him. On the 18th, however, Brigham, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife shaking on the bed with ague, and all his children sick. With the assistance of some of the brethren they climbed into the wagon.

"It seemed to me," says Elder Kimball, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer."

Brigham with much difficulty rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!"

They then continued their journey, without purse and without scrip, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock and Theodore Turley, Sept. 21, 1839, was but little less remarkable. They were feeble in health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset, and spilled them out down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into their wagon and they resumed their jour-

ney. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentlemen who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" The remark was elicited by the ghostly appearance of the Elders *en route* for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without scrip, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people, who were as poor as themselves, that their families should be provided for, they turned their faces towards Europe, to preach the Gospel to the highly civilized peoples of the world.

On the 5th, 6th and 7th of October, 1839, a general conference of the Church was held in Commerce. It was the first conference held at that place. On the first day of the conference a Stake of Zion was organized at Commerce, over which William Marks was called to preside. N. K. Whitney was appointed to act as Bishop of the middle Ward, Edward Partridge of the upper Ward and Vinson Knight of the lower Ward. The following named brethren were chosen as members of the High Council: George W. Harris, Samuel Bent, Henry G. Sherwood, David Fullmer, Alpheus Cutler, William Huntington, Thomas Grover, Newel Knight, Charles C. Rich, David Dort, Seymour Brunson and Lewis D. Wilson.

On the same day a branch of the Church was organized on the other side of the river, in Iowa Territory. (See *Zarahemla*.) Orson Hyde and William Smith who had been temporarily suspended from their offices, were restored to their former positions as Apostles in the Church. During this conference about fifty

brethren were ordained Elders in the Church, and Elias Higbee appointed to accompany Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to Washington.

Oct. 21, 1839, the High Council voted that "James Mulholland be appointed clerk for the land contracts, that Joseph Smith act as treasurer, that Henry G. Sherwood, price, exhibit, contract and sell town lots in Commerce, and that \$500 be the standard price of lots; that is, none less than \$200, nor more than \$800." On the 28th the High Council voted to build a stone house at Upper Commerce (Commerce City) to be used for boarding, and that Samuel Bent, Davidson Hibbard and David Dort act as trustees for building a stone school house which was in contemplation.

The following day, Joseph Smith, accompanied by Sidney Rigdon and others, started for Washington, D. C., from which trip he returned March 4, 1840. (See pages 473-479.)

In November, 1839, the first number of the *Times and Seasons* was published at Commerce by Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, in the interest of the Church. (See *Times and Seasons*.) At that time there was no other paper published in Hancock County. Three years previous, in June, 1836, Thomas Gregg published at Carthage the first newspaper ever issued in the county. It was called the *Carthaginian* and was owned by a company of citizens; but after a precarious existence of less than a year it was purchased by Dr. Isaac Galland, one of the proprietors, and removed to Fort Des Moines, Wisconsin Territory, now Montrose, Iowa, its editor-printer going with it. There the new paper was called the *West-*

ern Adventurer, but it did not live very long. After the suspension of the *Carthaginian* Hancock County was without a newspaper of any kind until November, 1839, when the *Times and Seasons* was first issued.

In the spring of 1840, Daniel N. White, editor and publisher of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, was induced to bring a press to Warsaw, where he commenced the publication of a paper called the *Western World*. It was a six column weekly, at \$2.00 per year. At the end of six months Mr. White sold his establishment to Thomas C. Sharp and James Gamble, a journeyman printer. These men, at the end of the first year changed the title of their paper to the *Warsaw Signal*, a name which continued in Warsaw through various changes, with short intervals of rest, for a period of about thirteen years. It was the *Warsaw Signal*, through its editor, Mr. Thomas C. Sharp, which advocated in the strongest terms the expulsion of the Saints from Hancock County. Mr. Sharp is still alive and is now editing the *Carthage Gazette*, at Carthage, Illinois. The *Warsaw Signal*, and the periodicals issued at Nauvoo were the only papers published in Hancock County up to the time the Saints left.

April 21, 1840, through the influence of Richard M. Young, the postmaster-general at Washington, D. C., changed the name of the post office at Commerce to Nauvoo, agreeable to the wishes of the new citizens (the Saints) there, and appointed George W. Robinson postmaster.

By the 1st of June, 1840, the Saints had already erected about two hundred and fifty houses at Nauvoo. They were mostly block houses, but there were also a few frame dwell-

ings. Many more houses were in course of erection and the town was rapidly increasing in population. By that time, also, about one thousand acres of land had been laid off into blocks and lots. Each block contained four lots, and each lot, except a few fractional ones, was 11 by 12 rods in size, "which," writes Alanson Ripley in the *Times and Seasons* of June, 1840, "makes excellent gardens, and fills the definition of the Hebrew word Nauvoo, a delightful plantation."

Missouri was watching the progress of Nauvoo from a distance, and when she saw that the persecutions the Saints had endured in that State had not destroyed them as an organized community, but that they were on the eve of enjoying an era of prosperity as they never before had enjoyed, she employed all her cunning to incite the hatred of the citizens of Illinois against them. But this was not easy accomplished; and, at first, the misrepresentations of a State that had been guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against the Saints had but little weight in Illinois.

Finding that their accusations against the people, whom they had so wronged, had little or no effect, an effort was made to give coloring to their statements; and stolen goods were conveyed from Missouri to the vicinity of Nauvoo, so that when they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. But doubtless being emboldened by reason of the general government's refusing to make any effort to redress the wrongs of the Saints, a

company of men led by William Al-
lensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsly, John Bain, Light T. Tait and Halsay White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois, at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers; and without any writ or warrant of any character, whatever, they dragged them over to Missouri, to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis County. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, and a rope placed around his neck; he was then hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing, and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatened frequently, a man by the name of Monday, exclaiming: "G—d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow." He was finally, however, released without being whipped.

After they had received this inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character; that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

"TULLY, MISSOURI, July 12, 1840.

"The people of Tully, having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

"By order of the Committee.

H. M. WOODYARD."

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were informed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as

"Mormons" were loud in their condemnation of it, and at once a mass meeting was called, July 13, 1840, and resolutions were adopted, expressing their unqualified indignation, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed this outrage, and, by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

Daniel H. Wells, not then a member of the Church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin, and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the men who were the victims of the Missourians, the governor's wife, who was present at the interview, was moved to tears, and the governor himself was greatly agitated. He promised to counsel with the State attorney, who by law was made his adviser, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and the law to justify. Just what was done by Governor Carlin, however, we are unable to learn; but one thing is certain, and that is, the guilty parties were never brought to justice, nor even to a trial—indeed it may be that even then the love which Governor Carlin once had for the Saints, and which at last became dead, had begun to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a demand of Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight,

Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. (See page 478.)

These circumstances gave the Saints to understand that their peace in their beautiful situation on the banks of the Mississippi was not to be without alloy. They gave to them a premonition of danger, for these incidents were indeed the few drops of rain which sometimes precede the storm. A kind Providence, however, shut out from their vision how fierce that storm would be.

During the year 1840, a number of prominent men, who had proven themselves faithful and true to the cause of God, died in Nauvoo, some of them from the effects of their sufferings in Missouri. Among them was Bishop Edward Partridge who died May 27, 1840, and Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's father, who departed this life Sept. 14, 1840.

At the general conference held in Nauvoo, Oct. 5th, 6th and 7th, 1840, it was resolved to petition the State Legislature to incorporate the town of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett and Robert B. Thompson were appointed to draft a petition and a bill. At the same conference it was resolved to build a "House of the Lord" at Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The bill for the incorporation of Nauvoo was duly presented to the Legislature, at Springfield, and passed the House of Representatives with only one or two dissenting votes, and the senate with no opposition, whatever. The charter, including charters for the "Nauvoo Legion" and the "University of the city of Nauvoo," was signed by Governor Thomas Carlin Dec. 16, 1840. The charter described the boundaries of

the city—embracing nearly seven square miles, including the town plats of Nauvoo and Commerce—but gave to the citizens (whom it erected a body corporate and politic) the right to extend the area of the city whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. The first Monday in February, 1841, was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was, that they do nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the State constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such laws, as in the wisdom of the city council, were necessary for the peace, good order and general welfare of the city.

The leading men of the State appeared not only willing, but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the Saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house, especially, stood by the Saints, and pleaded for their rights, together with Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross and Stapp; while John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, manfully discharged his duties to the Nauvoo portion of his constituents, by using all his energy to secure them their city government.

The Saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by

their city charter, and of it Joseph said:

"I concocted it for the salvation of the Church and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influences, without distinction of sect or party."

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was "concocted for the salvation of the Church," it by no means secured that salvation by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the Saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for the Saints; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to come and assist in building it up and partake of its liberty and other advantages. An official proclamation of the Saints, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith (the First Presidency of the Church), contains the following passage:

"We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow-citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place (Nauvoo) or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the State of Illinois."

By this time the inhabitants of Nauvoo had increased to more than three thousand souls. Much of the surrounding country had been brought into subjection to the skill of the husbandman, while industries of various kinds had begun a struggle for existence. A charter for a railroad between Warsaw and Nauvoo had been secured, which promised to

obviate some of the difficulties of the commerce of the beautiful city, by reason of the rapids in the river during low water. A number of public buildings had been planned, among them the "House of the Lord," the foundation of which was begun ten days after the October conference, 1840. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) The healthiness of the place during the past year had been greatly improved by the digging of wells and draining off stagnant waters, and there was now but little or no sickness among the inhabitants. The Saints were also blessed with an abundant harvest in the year 1840.

Feb. 1, 1841, the first election for members of the Nauvoo city council, as provided by the city charter, took place. John C. Bennett was elected mayor; Wm. Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells and Newel K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John F. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don Carlos Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. Two days later (Feb. 3rd) the city council was organized, on which occasion the mayor elect delivered his inaugural address. Henry G. Sherwood was appointed marshal; James Sloan, recorder; Robert B. Thompson, treasurer; James Robinson, assessor, and Austin Cowles, supervisor of streets. The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for its privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

"Resolved, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to

the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the State of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of noble, high-minded and patriotic statesmen, and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred; and that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance of their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want."

The next move was to pass ordinances in relation to the Nauvoo Legion and the University. The latter appointed a chancellor (John C. Bennett) and board of regents. A site for a building was subsequently selected and plans for the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

On Feb. 15th, the city council passed a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city. (See page 480.)

On the 23rd of February, 1841, a bill, previously passed by the State Legislature, was approved by Governor Carlin, incorporating the "Nauvoo House Association" (see *Nauvoo House*), and on the 27th another incorporating the "Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association;" the object of the last named association was the "promotion of agriculture and husbandry in all their branches, and the manufacture of flour, lumber and such other useful articles as are necessary for the ordinary purposes of life." The capital stock of this association was put at \$100,000, with privilege of increasing to \$300,000.

On the 1st of March an ordinance was passed by the Nauvoo city council in relation to religious liberty. It provided that all religious sects and denominations should have free

toleration and equal privileges within the city, and that any person ridiculing or abusing another on account of his religious belief, should, on conviction thereof, before the mayor or municipal court, be fined in any sum not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding six months. On that day also the city council, at Joseph Smith's suggestion, divided Nauvoo into four Wards, to wit:

"All that district of country within the city limits, north of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, shall constitute the 1st Ward. North of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 2nd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 3rd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, the 4th Ward."

The city council also ordered the town lots of Commerce to be vacated, that the survey of the city of Nauvoo might be carried through the town plats of Commerce, and that the same be incorporated forever with the city of Nauvoo. These things, together with training the Legion and preparing in a general way for the conference to be commenced on the 6th of April, 1841, occupied the attention of the people of Nauvoo through the winter.

At the general conference which was commenced in Nauvoo April 6, 1841, the corner stones of a Temple were laid. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) During the remaining days of the conference, which was continued from Wednesday morning till Sunday night, and was one of the most important conferences ever held by the Church, the Saints were instructed in principle and doctrine; the quorums of the Priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business put

to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and re-appointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in a revelation given a few weeks previous. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.) Besides this the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the Church. Amasa M. Lyman was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the First Presidency as an assistant President, until Sidney Rigdon's health should be restored. Every thing necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the Saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments.

The circumstances surrounding the Saints at that time were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all the leading men of the State; the universal sympathy felt by the people of the State for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the State Legislature in granting the several charters all supported that hope. Yet, early in the summer of 1841, an event happened which threatened the peace of the inhabitants of Nauvoo. We allude to the arrest of Joseph Smith on a requisition from the governor of Missouri, June 5, 1841. (See pages 482-485.)

With the exception of the difficulties connected with this unwarranted arrest of the Prophet and a few minor ones, the summer of 1841 glided pleasantly by, bringing to the busy

inhabitants of Nauvoo many seasons of social and spiritual refreshment. Their city was the most promising and thrifty in the great State of Illinois, and the fame thereof had gone abroad everywhere, which together with the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, attracted much attention of the people. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting their religion. A large bowery was constructed just west of the Temple site where the people assembled for worship. Here the young Prophet preached his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

"Fools who came to mock,
"Remained to pray."

Heber C. Kimball, writing from Nauvoo in July, 1841, described the appearance of the city at that time in the following language:

"You know there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time there are 1,200, and hundreds of others in progress, which will be finished soon. On Friday last, 70 Saints came to Nauvoo, led by Lorenzo Barnes, from Chester County, Pennsylvania, in wagons, living in tents by the way. On the next day, a company came in wagons from Canada, all in good spirits, and in two or three days after, they all obtained places to live in. They are coming in from all parts of this vast continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land and calls for preaching in all parts. You will recollect when we built our houses in the woods there was not a house within half a mile of us. Now the place, wild as it was at that time, is converted into a thickly populated village."

Another account of the rapid progress which Nauvoo had then made,

and of its thriving condition, we quote from the *St. Louis Atlas*:

"The population of Nauvoo is between 8,000 and 9,000, and of course the largest town in the State of Illinois. How long the Latter-day Saints will hold together and exhibit their present aspect, it is not for us to say. At this moment, they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober and thrifty population, such a population, indeed, as in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east, and we rather guess, not even west of the Mississippi."

While the leading men of the State of Illinois were generally favorably inclined towards the citizens of Nauvoo, the Saints on their part manifested a lively interest in the general concerns of the State; and by no means intended to make either their city or the Legion exclusively "Mormon." On the contrary they were willing to unite with their fellow-citizens in every good work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the State of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and influence and integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo and assist in building up a glorious city. In July, 1841, Sidney H. Little, of the State senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the "Saints might mourn with those who are called to mourn," as Joseph puts it, the 18th of July, 1841, was set apart as a day of fasting among the Saints. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good will among their fellow-citizens, and a number of honorable, and some of them influential men, while not accepting the faith of the Saints, became friendly disposed towards them and associated with

them in various business transactions.

But the good will of the Saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the Saints in Nauvoo and vicinity. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa, as will be seen by the following occurrence: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa Territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of that Territory at Montrose, Sept. 14, 1841. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during a recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the troops:

"Citizens of Iowa: The laws of Iowa do not require you to muster or be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they have the impudence to attempt it, it is hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks."

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted the general's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor Hyrum were in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend the drills and reviews of the Legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the Legion. Kilburn's effort, however, to create a disturbance was not success-

ful, though the papers of the State commented upon it, and some began to whisper that it was Joseph's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, Mohammed-like, by the sword.

May 24, 1841, Joseph called upon the Saints everywhere to come into Hancock County, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closes with these words:

"Let it therefore be understood that all the Stakes excepting those in this county [Hancock] and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued; and the Saints instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit."

The Twelve Apostles, who had left Nauvoo on their missions to England under very trying circumstances about two years before, returned during the summer, after accomplishing one of the most successful and remarkable missions in modern times. They were a tower of strength to Joseph, and he was not long in availing himself of their valuable support. At a special conference convened in Nauvoo Aug. 16, 1841, Joseph said that "the time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency; and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church at the Stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations." And he at once turned over to their management many of the temporal affairs with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

One of the most pleasing events that happened, during the summer of 1841, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk, to Nauvoo. (See page 486.)

Oct. 2, 1841, the corner stones of the Nauvoo House were laid in Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo House*.) On that day the semi-annual conference of the Church also commenced; it was continued for four days, and much good instruction was given. (See page 486.) Joseph made a full report of the Church property in his charge as trustee-in-trust for the Church; and a few days later, in an epistle of the Twelve Apostles to the Saints generally, an account was given of the Prophet's own earthly possessions, of which the following is a copy:

"Old Charley, a horse given to him several years before in Kirtland; two pet deers; two old turkeys and four young ones; an old cow given to him by a brother in Missouri; old Major, a dog; his wife, children, and a little household furniture."

A few bad characters had at that time attached themselves to the Church in Nauvoo and vicinity, and gave a coloring to the charges that were made against the Church, to the effect that the leaders thereof sanctioned stealing, so long as it was practiced on those not belonging to the Church. Such were the rumors given out by some members of the Church engaged in this infamous business. On the 18th of November a nest of such vipers was uncovered at Ramus, a place 20 miles east of Nauvoo; and they were promptly excommunicated from the Church by the Apostles, who were holding a conference at the place on the date above mentioned. Both Joseph and Hyrum took advantage of the occasion to make affidavits before proper officers of the law to the effect: that they had never given their sanction to such infamous doctrine as that attributed to them; and the Twelve Apostles in an epistle to the public,

disavowed ever sanctioning the crime of theft.

Hyrum in his affidavit dated Nov. 26, 1841, says:

"I hereby disavow any sanction or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-men may be unlawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency or any other persons in authority or good standing in the Church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of the Church, contrary to the teachings given in said Church, and the laws of both God and man."

In a public declaration dated Nov. 29, 1841, to which Joseph appended his affidavit the Prophet said:

"It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret chamber, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that the Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime."

Nor were the Twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle dated Dec. 1, 1841, and printed at the same time with the above, they said:

"We know not how to express our abhorrence of such an idea, and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. * * * We further call upon the Church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according

to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land."

About this time, too, there were gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi River, from which the Saints suffered, as many of their horses and cattle were stolen; but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of these robbers were attributed to the Saints, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them.

In December, 1841, the attempt to build up the town of Warren, located one mile south of Warsaw, was abandoned. (See *Warren*.)

In the meantime Nauvoo was rapidly building up. The Temple and Nauvoo House were being pushed ahead with considerable vigor; and many neat cottage homes had taken the place of the rude temporary cabins that had been constructed to shelter the people until their industry could win better homes. The population in the spring of 1842 was between eight and ten thousand, and the stream of emigration from the British mission by that time had commenced to flow in. The new citizens assisted in no small degree to increase the prosperity of this central gathering place of the Saints.

"But the Church had passed through a long period of disaster," writes B. H. Roberts. "Time and again the early members of the Church had been driven away from their homes, and while their faith in their religion remained unshaken, these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial schemes; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims

upon them, their creditors making small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draught upon their resources and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo. Finally, as a means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors, a number of the leading brethren, among them the Prophet Joseph, took advantage of the bankrupt law. Under this law any one owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignor could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency. In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protection it became absolutely necessary. They were financially down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the 'Mormon' leaders were. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom Joseph had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract; but this step placed the brethren beyond the power of their unjust

creditors, and necessity compelled the action."

As early as Dec. 20, 1841, Joseph, as lieutenant-general of the Legion, issued orders for a general military parade and review of the Legion to take place on the 7th of May following. A subsequent order, issued in April, marking out the programme for the day's exercises contained the following clause:

"At 3 o'clock p. m. the cohorts will separate and form in line of battle, the brigadiers assume their respective commands, and General Law's command [cavalry] will make a descent upon that of General Rich's [Cohort C. infantry] in order of sham battle."

The lieutenant-general had invited the consolidated staff of the Legion and their ladies to partake of a *repast militaire*, on the occasion, at his house.

On the morning of the day appointed for the drill and review, two thousand troops were in the field; and an immense concourse of spectators, both of Saints and strangers. Such was the interest taken in the movements of the people of Nauvoo, that a number of the prominent men of the State within easy reach of the city of the Saints attended the review. Judge Stephen A. Douglass adjourned the circuit court, then in session at the county seat, Carthage, in order to attend. As soon as the lieutenant-general heard of the presence of Judge Douglass, he sent him an invitation to attend the military dinner given at his house, which the judge accepted.

It was a glorious day, passing off without drunkenness or noise or disorder; and even the strangers expressed themselves as highly satisfied with what they had witnessed. But even during the brightest days

clouds will sometimes drift across the sun's disc; so in the moments of man's supreme happiness, it often occurs that shadows arise to alarm his fears, and remind him how fleeting are the joys of this life. So was it with the principal founder of Nauvoo on the day of the drill. When the respective cohorts were drawn up in line of battle, a treacherous attempt was made by John C. Bennett, to have Joseph placed in a position where his life would have been in imminent danger. Bennett was soon afterwards expelled from the Church because of his wickedness and whoredoms. (See pages 494-496.)

April 16, 1842, the first number of the *Wasp*, a miscellaneous weekly newspaper was issued in Nauvoo. The next year it was enlarged, and changed its name to the *Nauvoo Neighbor*.

In the summer of 1842, Joseph, who was wickedly accused of being an accessory before the fact of an attempt to murder L. W. Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, found it advisable to absent himself from Nauvoo for a while. (See pages 497-500.) From his places of concealment, he directed the movements of the people at Nauvoo, and managed his own business through faithful agents, who met with him occasionally. Emma, his wife spent considerable of her time with him, and beguiled the loneliness of those weary hours of inactivity, that he whose life is the synonym for intense activity, had to endure.

During those days of exile, one gets a glimpse of the Prophet's private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and his

people:—it was his unbounded love for them. Speaking of a meeting with his friends in the night of Aug. 11, 1842, on the little island near Nauvoo, in the account he gives of it in the Book of the Law of the Lord, he says:

"How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band on the night of the 11th [of August], on the island, at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight, and what transports of joy swelled my bosom, when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and choice of my heart. Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewn our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment!—And again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm, and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!"

Of his brother Hyrum on the same occasion he says:

"There was brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand—a natural brother. Thought I to myself: Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works."

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren"—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life!

Some of the brethren proposed that Joseph should go up to the pine woods of Wisconsin, where a number of the brethren were engaged in getting out timber for the Temple and Nauvoo House, until the excitement should subside in Illinois. Of this proposition, Joseph said in a letter to Emma, dated Aug. 16, 1842:

"My mind will eternally revolt at every suggestion of that kind. * * * My safety is with you if you want to have it so. * * * If I go to the pine country, you shall go along with me, and the children; and if you and the children go not with me, I don't go. I do not wish to exile myself for the sake of my own life. I would rather fight it out. It is for your sakes, therefore, that I would do such a thing."

It appears that Joseph had resolved to submit no longer to the injustice he had suffered from the hands of the people of Missouri. It was rumored that the officers, on leaving Nauvoo, breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the city and vicinity; and Ford, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a mob against the "Mormons," if necessary, to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors, Joseph exchanged several letters with Wilson Law, (who had been recently elected major-general of the Legion, *vice* John C. Bennett cashiered), in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened. In a letter written to Law, dated Aug. 14, 1842, the Prophet said:

"You will see that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will, endeavor to disturb it. You will also see that whenever any mob force, or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto, you will see that that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest at the point

of the sword, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of old Seventy-six and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and blood of the children of the fathers thereof. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the first place, we will take every measure that lays in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision."

To these sentiments there was a willing response of acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to faithfully carry out Joseph's orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise. After a little, however, the excitement began to subside; and as Joseph's hiding place at Derby's was discovered, by a young man who suddenly came upon Joseph and his kind host, on the 17th of August, while they were walking out in the woods for a little exercise, the Prophet moved quietly into the city, staying first at the house of one friend a day or two, and then removing to that of another.

In the meantime the situation was plainly placed before Governor Carlin; and the course that Joseph had taken fully vindicated by letters written to him by Emma, his wife, who displayed no mean ability in the correspondence she opened up with the governor, which so nearly concerned the peace of her family. She directed the attention of the governor to the fact that Joseph had not been in the State of Missouri for some three or four years—that if her husband had been accessory before the fact, to the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, the crime, if committed at all—which she stoutly averred was

not the case—was done in Illinois, and there was no law to drag a man from a State where the crime was committed, into a State where it had not been committed, for trial; and as her husband had not been in the State of Missouri for several years previous to the assault on Boggs, he could not have fled from the justice of that State, and therefore ought not to be given up under the fugitive-from-justice law.

Letters from other prominent citizens of Nauvoo were also sent to the governor; and the Female Relief Society called his attention to the threats of mob violence and invasion from Missouri, and asked that sufficient military protection might be given to insure the peace and safety of the citizens of Nauvoo. All these things the governor treated lightly, and claimed that the only excitement that existed was with the "Mormon" people at Nauvoo, and nowhere else; and there was no need, he insisted, of taking the precautions hinted at by the people. Though when talking on another subject he unwittingly remarked that persons were offering their services every day either in person or by letter, and held themselves in readiness to go against the "Mormons" whenever he should call upon them; but he never had the least idea of calling on the militia, neither had he thought it necessary. He maintained that the proper thing for Joseph to do was to give himself up to the authorities of Missouri for trial, and he had no doubt that he would be acquitted. Judge Ralston asked him how he thought Mr. Smith would go through the midst of his enemies without being subject to violence; and how after his acquittal, he would be able

to return to Illinois. To that proposition the governor could give no satisfactory answer, but made light of the whole matter. And in spite of all the protests sent in by the people of Nauvoo, he made a proclamation that as Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell had resisted the laws, by refusing to go with the officers who had them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of \$200 for each or either of those "fugitives from justice." Governor Reynolds also offered a reward for their arrest, \$300 for each one or either of them.

Joseph continued to remain in the city and moved about cautiously, attending to his business. A tide of popular prejudice had set in of such proportions that it seemed that it would overwhelm the Saints. It had been created largely through the misrepresentations of John C. Bennett, and Joseph at once determined to counteract it if possible. He ordered that a special conference be called for the purpose of appointing Elders to go through the State of Illinois and the East to flood the country with the truth in relation to Bennett's character. The conference was called, and in the interim documents and affidavits were prepared, that the Elders might be armed with proofs, in relation to the facts respecting Bennett and his misrepresentations.

The conference convened on the 29th of August, 1842, the day appointed, and Hyrum Smith addressed the brethren on the mission many of them were expected to go upon. At the conclusion of his remarks Joseph stepped into the stand, to the great joy of his people, many of whom thought he had gone to Washington,

and others to Europe. His appearance created great cheerfulness and animation among the people, and Joseph who was naturally impulsive, was overjoyed to again stand before the Saints. He addressed them in more than his usual spirited manner, and called upon the Elders to go through the States taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have the truth laid before them."

In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, about three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately.

For several days after the conference the Prophet continued about home, but it being revealed to him that his enemies were again on the move to take him, he found it necessary to drop out of sight. Still he occasionally visited his home, and while on one of these visits to his family, he nearly fell into the hands of the officers. (See page 501.)

Joseph's case was soon afterwards brought before the court in Springfield, and he was honorably acquitted. (See page 506.)

Notwithstanding the annoyance from the Missourians and the threatening altitude of the enemies of the Saints generally, Nauvoo continued to grow. On the 20th of August, 1842, the High Council, "Resolved that the city of Nauvoo be divided into ten Wards, according to the division made by the Temple Committee; and that there be a Bishop appointed over each Ward; and also that other Bishops be appointed over such districts immediately out of the city and adjoining thereto as shall be consid-

and others in Europe. His appearance created great excitement and enthusiasm among the people, and his speech was extremely impressive. He was everywhere to great acclaim. His address was more than his usual polished manner, and called upon the Illinois to go through the States taking advantage of the time, "show to the world the progress and improvement of the people, the State and nation, for the public might have the right and be for them."

In response to this call to action the People's character, about three hundred and eighty letters were received their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately. For several days after the night once the People continued about home, but is being received in his that his committee were upon the move to take him, he found it necessary to drop out of sight. Still he occasionally visited his home, and while on one of these visits to his family, he nearly fell into the hands of the enemy. (See page 101.)

Joseph's name was mentioned in the papers before the court in Springfield, and he was immediately arrested. (See page 101.)

Notwithstanding the numerous arrests, the movement continued to grow. On the 20th of August, 1843, the High Council, resolved that the city of Kansas be divided into two wards, according to the division made by the Temple Committee; and that there be three appointed over each ward; and also that other things be appointed over each ward, and that immediately out of the city and adjoining towns as shall be possible

to return to Illinois. To that purpose the governor could give no satisfactory answer, but made light of the whole matter. And in spite of all the protests sent in by the people of Kansas, he made a proclamation that as Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell had visited the State, by refusing to go with the officers who had them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of \$500 for each of them "if given from justice." Governor Reynolds also offered a reward for their arrest, \$500 for each one or either of them.

Joseph continued to remain in the city and moved about cautiously, attending to his business. A tide of popular prejudice had set in of such proportions that it seemed that it would overwhelm the Saints. It had been created largely through the misrepresentations of John C. Bennett, and Joseph at once determined to counteract it if possible. He ordered that a special conference be called for the purpose of appointing Elders to go through the State of Illinois and the West to Good the country with the truth in relation to Bennett's character. The conference was called, and in the interim documents and affidavits were prepared, that the Elders might be armed with proofs in relation to the facts respecting Bennett and his misrepresentations.

The conference convened on the 28th of August, 1843, the day appointed, and Hyrum Smith addressed the brethren as the mission many of them were expected to go upon. At the conclusion of his remarks Joseph stepped into the stand, to the great joy of his people, many of whom thought he had gone to Washington,

ered necessary. Resolved that Samuel H. Smith be appointed Bishop in the place of Bishop Vinson Knight, deceased; also that Tarleton Lewis be appointed Bishop of the Fourth Ward; John Murdock, of the Fifth Ward; Daniel Carn, of the Sixth Ward; Jacob Foutz, of the Eighth Ward; Jonathan H. Hale, of the Ninth Ward; Hezekiah Peck, of the Tenth Ward; David Evans, of the district south of the city, called the Eleventh Ward; Israel Calkins, of the district east of the city and south of Knight Street; William W. Spencer, of the district east of the city and north of Knight Street."

At another meeting of the High Council held Dec. 4, 1842, the report of a committee previously appointed for dividing the city into Wards, for transacting Church business, was heard, accepted and adopted, as follows:

"The First Ward is bounded on the north by the city boundary line, and on the south by Brattle Street.

"The Second Ward is bounded on the north by Brattle Street or the First Ward, and on the south by Carlos Street or the Third Ward.

"The Third Ward is bounded on the north by Carlos Street or the Second Ward, and on the south by Joseph Street or the Fourth Ward.

"The Fourth Ward is bounded on the north by Joseph Street or the Third Ward, and on the south by Cutler Street or the Fifth Ward.

"The Fifth Ward is bounded on the north by Cutler Street or the Fourth Ward, and on the south by Mulholland Street.

"The Sixth Ward is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, and on the east by Main Street or the Seventh Ward.

"The Seventh Ward is bounded on the west by Main Street or the Sixth Ward, and on the east by Durfee Street or the Eighth Ward.

"The Eighth Ward is bounded on the west by Durfee Street or the Seventh Ward, and on the east by Robinson Street or the Ninth Ward.

"The Ninth Ward is bounded on the west

by Robinson Street or the Eighth Ward, and on the east by Green Street or the Tenth Ward.

"The Tenth Ward is bounded on the west by Green Street or the Ninth Ward, and on the east by the city boundary line."

In the *Times and Seasons* of Oct. 1, 1842, the following in regard to the status of the town at that time appears:

"For three or four miles upon the river and about the same distance back in the country, Nauvoo presents a city of gardens, ornamented with the dwellings of those who have made a covenant by sacrifice, and are guided by revelation. * * * The city is regularly laid off into blocks containing four lots of 11 by 12 rods each—making all corner lots. It will be no more than probably correct, if we allow the city to contain between seven and eight hundred houses, with a population of fourteen or fifteen thousand people. Many of the houses recently built are of brick, some one story and some two stories high, displaying that skill, economy and industry which have always characterized intelligent minds and laudable intentions. * * * We can therefore, of a truth declare, that within the same length of time, and with the same amount of means, no society on the face of the globe has a better right to the claim of improvement by their own industry, or have offered to their surrounding neighbors a plainer pattern of mechanical skill, domestic economy, practical temperance, common intelligence, every day virtue, and eternal religion, than the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. * * * Two steam mills have been put in operation this season, and many other buildings for mechanical labor, in the various branches of manufacture, are either under way or in contemplation; while the Temple of God (a work of great magnitude) and the Nauvoo House, which, when finished, will hardly be surpassed in the western world, are rising up as monuments of the enterprise, industry and reverence of the commandments of God."

Oct. 30, 1842, the Saints met for worship on the temporary floor of the Temple, for the first time. Previous to this meetings had been held in a grove on the brow of the hill immediately west of that building, the walls of which were now about

four feet high or more above the basement.

Gradually the people of Illinois imbibed the same persecuting spirit which had followed the Saints in all their wanderings. After the election of Thomas Ford to the office of governor of Illinois—notwithstanding he was elected to that position by the votes of the Saints—he expressed himself dissatisfied with the privileges granted to Nauvoo in the charter of incorporation, under which the citizens had prospered. Some members of the Legislature talked of modification, and others, more rapid, of annulling all the charters granted to the city. The bias of the public mind in Illinois was not, however, fully against the people at that time, and consequently the charters were not interfered with, and the citizens of Nauvoo, anxious to believe that the unfounded prejudice against them would ultimately wear itself out, continued in their usual avocations, all tending to increase the importance of the city.

Occasionally, honorable individuals, who had visited the city, would publish accounts which contradicted many of the false reports in circulation against the Saints, which in many cases enlisted the sympathies and respect of persons far and near, and, in some measure, postponed the day of calamity which awaited it and its citizens.

A Mr. Prior, a Methodist minister, who visited the place in the spring of 1843, wrote of it and the people as follows:

"At length the city burst upon my sight, and how sadly was I disappointed. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels, which I expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the west. The

buildings, though many of them were small and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The far-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with the habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken; and instead of being in Nauvoo, of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy, at the city of Leghorn (which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much), and among the eccentric Italians. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall, majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity, and wrested it from the bonds of disease; and in two or three short years, rescued it from a dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities in the west. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with the dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the Temple, which is now raised 15 or 20 feet above the level of the ground. The few trees that were permitted to stand were now in full foliage, and were scattered with a sort of fantastic irregularity over the slope of the hill. I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business—much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality; but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets, nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred or impudent. I heard not an oath in the place. I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite and industrious. I conversed with many leading men, and found them social and well-informed, hospitable and generous. I saw nothing but order and regulation in the society. Where then, I exclaimed, is all this startling proof of the utter profligacy of Nauvoo? Where, in the name of God, is the immorality charged upon the citizens of it; and what dreadful out-breaking crimes have given men the licence to deprecate this place as much as they do? Where is the gang of marauders, horse-thieves and ruffians, the drunkards and vicious men of Nauvoo? Where are the horrid forms of human beings distorted

with hellish rage and maddened ire? Where are the dark and diabolical superstitions? Where are those specimens of credulity and ignorance? Where are those damning doctrines of demons? Where, in fine, is this slough, this sink of iniquity of which I have heard so much? Surely not in Nauvoo. They must have got the wrong place, or willfully lied about it. I could but blush with disappointed shame for my friends who had so misinformed me, and very soon made up my mind, like the Queen of Sheba, not to believe any reports of enemies, but to always, like her, go and see for myself."

Indeed, Nauvoo was now rapidly advancing in population, wealth and every other characteristic of a great city. An Englishman, who saw it at that time, and wrote a letter to the *Times and Seasons*, said:

"Look and see what they have done at Nauvoo during the comparatively short time they have been there. If they are enabled to proceed as they have commenced, their town ere long will become a mighty city. I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances."

The 4th of July, 1843, was celebrated in grand style at Nauvoo. Two meetings were held in the grove, which were attended by nearly fifteen thousand people. In the forenoon Orson Hyde delivered a powerful and appropriate speech, and in the afternoon Parley P. Pratt treated the large assembly to a masterly discourse. During the day three steamboats arrived with passengers—one from Quincy, one from St. Louis, and one from Burlington—bringing from 800 to 1,000 passengers. On the arrival of each boat, the people were escorted by the Nauvoo Band to convenient seats provided for them, and were welcomed by the firing of cannon.

A member of the expedition from Quincy, writing of his visit to Nauvoo to the Quincy *Whig*, says:

"I left Quincy on the glorious Fourth, on

board the splendid steamer *Annawan*, Captain Whitney, in company with a large number of ladies and gentlemen of this city, on a pleasure excursion to the far-famed city of Nauvoo. The kindness of the officers of the boat and the hearty welcome received from the citizens of Nauvoo on our arrival there, induced me to return to each and all of them my own and the thanks of every passenger on board the *Annawan*, as I am sure all alike feel grateful for the pleasure there experienced. We left Quincy at half-past eight, and reached Nauvoo at about two o'clock p. m., where we received an invitation from the Prophet to attend the delivering of an oration, which was accepted; and two companies of the Legion were sent to escort us to the Grove (on the hill near the Temple), where the oration was to be delivered. When we reached the brow of the hill, we received a salute from the artillery there stationed, and proceeded on to the Grove, where we were welcomed in a cordial and happy manner by the Prophet and his people.

"The large concourse of people, assembled to celebrate the day which gave birth to American independence, convinced me that the Mormons have been most grossly slandered, and that they respect, cherish and love the free institutions of our country, and appreciate the sacrifices and bloodshed of those patriots who established them. I never saw a more orderly, gentlemanly, and hospitable people than the Mormons, nor a more interesting population, as the stirring appearance of their city indicates. Nauvoo is destined to be, under the influence and enterprise of such citizens as it now contains, and her natural advantages, a populous, wealthy, and manufacturing city.

"The services of the day were opened by a chaste and appropriate prayer by an Elder whose name I do not know, which was followed by rich strains of vocal and instrumental music. Then followed the oration, which was an elegant, eloquent and pathetic one, as much so as I ever heard on a similar occasion.

"We started home about six o'clock, all evidently much pleased with Nauvoo, and gratified by the kind reception of her citizens.

A CITIZEN OF QUINCY."

After Joseph's arrest near Dixon, Ill., and his subsequent trial and acquittal by the municipal court of Nauvoo (see pages 516-526), nothing of importance transpired at Nauvoo

until Aug. 7, 1843, when the general election for State officers took place. On that occasion the Saints generally voted the Democratic ticket, but Joseph himself, in fulfilment of a pledge he had formerly made to Cyrus H. Walker, who was the Whig candidate for representative to Congress, voted the Whig ticket.

The fact that the Democrats gained the victory by "Mormon" votes, stirred up to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, Robert D. Foster, who had been elected school commissioner, and George W. Thatcher, who had been elected clerk of the commissioner's court for the county, appeared at the court-house in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the "Mormons" were permitted to qualify.

But they qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-Mormon meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, Aug. 19, 1843, to protest against the "Mormons" holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled at the appointed time, and organized with a chairman (Major Reuben Graves) and a secretary (W. D. Abernethy). A committee of nine was appointed to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to meet again on the 6th of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the Saints in general, and particularly against Joseph Smith, in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting,

held in Carthage, Sept. 6, 1843, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a nation. They resolved that, from recent movements among the "Mormons," there were indications that they were unwilling to submit to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the "Mormons" should inflict upon them in the future—of course. They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a *posse* and take him, if the authorities of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them, they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the "Mormons" for their influence, and finally

"Resolved that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original inherent rights of self-defense."

One of the principal movers in these meetings was Walter Bagby, the county collector, with whom Joseph had had some difficulty in relation to the payment of taxes. In the dispute that arose Bagby told Joseph he lied, and for the insult Joseph struck him several times, and would doubtless have thrashed him soundly but for the interference of Daniel H. Wells. From that time on, Bagby became the relentless enemy of Joseph and the inspirer of these meetings at Carthage; and afterwards

went to Missouri where he conferred with the Prophet's old enemies, and brought about that concerted action between the Missourians and the anti-Mormons of Illinois, which resulted finally in the Prophet's assassination.

Later on in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the Saints who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of violence were frequent. In December, 1843, a member of the Church, living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi River to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clarke County, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by writ of *habeas corpus*, and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

The air was also filled with wild rumors as to what the Missourians were intending to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into Joseph's hands, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a season it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Joseph was careful to keep Governor Ford informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon his people, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians respecting an attack, and went so far as to tender the services of the Legion to repel it, should it occur. Governor

Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the Legion, or of the State militia, to be ready for such an assault.

A petition signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo, asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on those old charges, was also presented to the executive, but the governor refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In the summer of 1843 great improvements were made in Nauvoo. Fine residences now adorned both the high and low lands upon which it stood, and a number of public buildings were in course of erection, among which was the Masonic Temple, a substantial three-story brick building, on Main Street. The corner stones of that historic building, which is still standing, were laid June 24, 1843; it was dedicated April 5, 1844. An arsenal was also built at a convenient place near the Temple, for the accomodation of the Legion.

During the winter of 1843-44 another important event began to take shape. As the time of the Presidential Election was approaching the probable candidates for the office began to be discussed. It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to work for it. A Colonel Frierson of Quincy, the po-

litical friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the Saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to brother Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a representative from South Carolina to the United States Congress, and also a political friend of Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to Congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the Saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate to Brother Heywood, and through him to the citizens of Nauvoo that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.

In November, 1843, Colonel Frier-son went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to Congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers, but it probably never reached the House of Representatives.

This incident, however, suggested to the brethren the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the Presidency—five in number, viz.,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren; and ascertain what policy they would adopt respecting the Saints, and redressing the wrongs done them by Missouri. Only two out of the number, however, gave a reply, namely, Calhoun and Clay. (See pages 534-537.)

At a political meeting held in Nauvoo Jan. 29, 1844, Joseph Smith was nominated a candidate for the Presidency of the United States (see page 540), which nomination was ratified at a State convention held at Nauvoo,

May 17, 1844, together with Joseph's "Views and Powers of the Policy of the Government of the United States." (See page 548.) This convention also put in nomination Sidney Rigdon for Vice President and passed a series of resolutions, inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government. One of the resolutions adopted on that occasion read as follows:

"Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the President of the United States at the ensuing election."

Arrangements were entered into, to hold a national convention in New York on the 13th of July following, and preparations made for an active campaign in favor of the Prophet nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, fell pierced by assassins' bullets, the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course Joseph had no hope that he would be elected to the Presidency, but by becoming a candidate, he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good of the nation, and, at the same time, avoid the wrath of the political parties in the State of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the ensuing election; for whenever they voted with one of those parties the other became enraged and *vice versa*.

As an evidence that Joseph entertained no thought of success in his candidacy for the office of chief executive, we may mention the fact,

that during the time that vigorous preparations were being made for the Presidential canvass, he was setting on foot a scheme for taking the body of the Church into the west to settle Oregon. (See page 541.)

Subsequently a memorial was drawn up by Joseph, asking Congress to pass an enactment, authorizing him to raise a company for the purpose of establishing colonies in the unsettled section of country in the Far West, known under the general name of Oregon. At that time there was no particular government existing in the vast region to which the name of Oregon and California was given. Nor was it certain whether it would fall into the possession of England or the United States, as the northern boundary line question was then unsettled, and England and the United States held the country by a treaty of joint occupancy. As the Prophet preferred having an assurance of protection from the government on his enterprise, he asked Congress to pass the act before alluded to.

Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and through the influence of Joseph P. Hoge, representative to Congress from the district in which Nauvoo was included, John J. Hardin and Stephen A. Douglass succeeded in approaching a number of members of Congress, but received small encouragement, as congressmen then, as now, were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of the Prophet, they all

concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government would protect them. Stephen A. Douglass remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in Congress, to go to the West.

An event took place in the House of Representatives before the Prophet's petition was introduced, which put at rest all hopes of Congress doing anything at that time in relation to the Oregon Territory. A resolution was introduced to give Great Britain notice, that the treaty of joint occupancy of that country was at an end, and was promptly voted down. And that was virtually serving public notice that the Oregon question was not to be reopened by Congress, at least not until the conclusion of the Presidential election.

Altogether the winter of 1843-44 was big with events affecting the destinies of Nauvoo and her citizens, for there was set on foot several conspiracies, which culminated in the destruction of the city. Men who stood nearest to the Prophet Joseph, and who were bound in honor to defend his life, combined together in secret covenant for his overthrow.

Owing to the constant efforts of the Prophet's enemies in Missouri, to capture him and drag him to that State, where he might be murdered with impunity, the force of police in Nauvoo in January, 1844, was increased by the appointment of forty nightguards to patrol the city. These made it less convenient for the conspirators, who worked, as men ever do when engaged in such business, in the darkness. The nightguards several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a man-

ner, which, to say the least, was suspicious, and soon complaints were made by these same parties that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night-watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that Joseph had appointed them for the purpose of intimidation.

"In the spring of 1844," writes B. H. Roberts, "the Prophet was apprized by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter being in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other leading men in the Church; among them the Prophet's brother Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going, conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his advice, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three times, and brought to the Prophet a report of what they had witnessed. * * *

"In addition to the testimonies of these young men, was that of M. G. Eaton, who expressed a willingness to make affidavit that there was a plot laid to kill the Prophet and others, and would give the names of those who had concocted it. There was also one A. B. Williams who said the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, at the time a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that such a plot as we have spoken of existed. In their statements they name as leaders of the movement, Chauncy L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson and William and Wilson Law. These

names correspond with those given by the young men before alluded to, except that they also name Austin Cowles, a member of the High Council, as one of the active and leading conspirators.

"These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as secret opposition to the leading Church authorities; and on the 18th of April, 1844, a number of them were excommunicated for unchristianlike conduct.

"A sickly effort was made by these apostates to organize a church after the pattern of the true Church, by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc., but it failed miserably, as their following in Nauvoo was insignificant. (See page 547.) These men were desperately wicked, in addition to gross licentiousness they were guilty of theft and of counterfeiting money; brought much reproach upon the city of Nauvoo, since these things were traced to within her borders, and that fact went far towards undoing her reputation abroad. But though these men at one time, and indeed up to the time of their excommunication, held high official positions in the Church and the city, their wickedness was not sustained either by the Church laws or by the members of the Church, or citizens of Nauvoo. It was known that there existed a band of desperate men within the city, and these parties were suspected, but it required some time to obtain proof sufficiently positive to act upon; and where the counterfeiting was done was never learned.

"The mask having at last fallen from the faces of these men, they

joined with the avowed enemies of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which, but a short time before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which they were generally appealed to the circuit courts, and followed by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In all these cases the power of the municipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and the city authorities released, as the actions were malicious, and without sufficient cause on which to base the complaints.

"Thus the affairs of Nauvoo became more and more complicated, and the bitterness was constantly increasing. At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in the prospectus it published to agitate for the destruction of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the Saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that existed within the city, they intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo—fearless of whose particular case the facts might apply to. The proprietors of the paper were the band of conspirators already named, and Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

"The first, and indeed the only

number of the *Expositor*, was published on the 7th of June, 1844, and contained a most scandalous attack upon the most respectable citizens of Nauvoo. It at once filled the entire city with indignation, and the city council immediately took into consideration what would be the best method of dealing with it. The result of the council's meditations was this: Blackstone declared a libelous press a nuisance; the city charter gave to the city authorities the power to declare what should be considered a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same; therefore it was

"Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors*, which may be or exist, in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct.

"On receiving this order the mayor issued instructions to the city marshal to destroy the press without delay, and at the same time gave orders to Jonathan Dunham, acting major-general of the Nauvoo Legion, to assist the marshal with the Legion, if called upon to do so.

"The marshal with a small force of men appeared before the *Expositor*'s printing establishment, informed one or more of the proprietors of the character of his mission, and demanded entrance into the building to carry out his instructions from the mayor. This was denied and the door locked; whereupon the marshal broke in the door, carried out the press, broke it in the street, pried the type and burned all the papers found in the office, and then reported to the mayor, who sent an account of these proceedings to the governor of the State.

number of the Register, was published on the 7th of June 1844, and contained a most sensational attack upon the most respectable citizens of Kansas. It attacked the entire city with indignation, and the city council immediately took into consideration what would be the best method of dealing with it. The result of the council's deliberations was this: Blackstone decided to publish a rejoinder to the city, but gave to the city authorities the power to decide what should be permitted a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same; therefore it was "Resolved, by the city council of the city of Kansas, that the printer of the paper known as the Kansas Register be a public nuisance, and that he be ordered to cease and desist from publishing any paper to be published in this city, in any manner or by any device."

"On receiving the order the mayor or issued instructions to the city marshal to destroy the press without delay, and at the same time gave orders to Jonathan Dushan, editor-major general of the Kansas Legion, to assist the marshal with the Legion. It called upon to do so."

"The marshal, with a small force of men appeared before the Register's printing establishment, informed one or more of the proprietors of the character of his mission, and demanded entrance into the building to carry out his instructions from the mayor. This was denied and the door locked; whereupon the marshal broke in the door, carried out the press, broke it in the street, and the type and material all the parts found in the office and then reported to the mayor, who sent an account of these proceedings to the Governor of the State."

joined with the avowed enemies of the State outside of Kansas, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which, but a short time before they had assisted to obtain. They visited on several occasions the city attorney, visited the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which they were generally appealed to the circuit court, and followed by constant arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, detention of character, etc. In all these cases the power of the municipal court to grant writs of habeas corpus was largely exercised, and the city authorities harassed, as the actions were malicious, and without sufficient cause on which to base the complaints."

"Thus the affairs of Kansas became more and more complicated, and the bitterness was constantly increasing. At last the city parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the Kansas Register. It avowed its intention to agitate for the destruction of the Kansas charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the State afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that existed within the city, they intended to give a full, candid and accurate statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Kansas—facts of whose particular case the facts might apply to. The proprietors of the paper were named, and contributors already named, and Webster Emmons was engaged as editor."

"The first and indeed the only

"This act enraged the conspirators to a higher pitch of desperation. They set fire to their buildings and then fled to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, with the lie in their mouths that their lives were in danger in Nauvoo, and that they were driven away from their homes. Fortunately the police discovered the flames started by these men in time to extinguish them, so that they failed to have the smoking ruins of their own houses to support their story; but their misrepresentations spread like wild-fire and inflamed the public mind, already blinded with prejudice against the Saints, to a point which made violence almost certain.

"Francis M. Higbee made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, against Joseph Smith and all the members of the Nauvoo city council for riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The warrant issued by the justice was served by Constable Bettisworth upon Joseph June 12, 1844, and required him and the others named in the warrant to be taken before the justice issuing the warrant, 'or some other justice of the peace.' Joseph called the attention of the constable to this clause in the writ, and expressed a willingness to go before Esquire Johnson, or any other justice of the peace in Nauvoo. But Bettisworth was determined to take Joseph to Carthage before justice Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph was equally determined not to go, and petitioned the municipal court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which was granted, and under it the prisoner was honorably discharged. The other parties mentioned in the writ followed his ex-

ample and they too were likewise discharged.

"Meantime indignation meetings were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards in Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors, for more than two years, to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the Saints, had now a popular war cry—'unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press.' 'The law had ceased to be a protection to their lives or property! A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual.' Therefore these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, utterly exterminate the wicked and abominable 'Mormon' leaders, the authors of their troubles.

"Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the 'tools of the Prophet, to leave immediately, on pain of instant vengeance.' And it was further recommended that the adherents of Smith, as a body, be 'driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary, for the mob's protection, of his adherents;' and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself.

"The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast June 13, 1844, when the news arrived of the

ample and they too were likewise discharged.

"Mentioning indignation meetings were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards in Carthage. The men who had used their utmost endeavors, for more than two years, to induce the people to resist mob violence against the State, had now a popular war cry—'unlawful hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press.' The law had ceased to be a protection to their lives or property. A mob at Kansas, under a well-organized, had violated the highest principle in the government; and to such redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly inefficient. Therefore these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, utterly exterminate the wicked and abominable 'Mormon' leaders, the authors of their troubles. Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the tools of the 'Prophet' to leave immediately, on pain of instant execution. And it was further recommended that the adherents of Smith, as a body, be driven from the surrounding settlements into Kansas; that the 'Prophet' and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary, for the mob's protection of his adherents; and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself.

"The next meeting at Carthage, which had adjourned the Warsaw convention was in full blast June 15, 1844, when the news arrived of the

"This act enraged the conspirators to a height of desperation. They set fire to their buildings and then fled to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, with the hope in their minds that their lives were in danger in Kansas, and that they were driven away from their homes. Fortunately the police discovered the flames started by these men in time to extinguish them, so that they failed to have the smoking ruins of their own houses to support their story; but their misrepresentations spread like wild-fire and inflamed the public mind, already blinded with prejudice against the State, to a point which made violence almost certain.

"Friends M. Higgins made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, against Joseph Smith and all the members of the Kansas high council for riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The warrant issued by the justice was served by Constable Heltzworth upon Joseph June 15, 1844, and required him and the others named in the warrant to be taken before the justice leaving the warrant, for some other justice of the peace. Joseph called the attention of the constable to this clause in the writ, and expressed a willingness to go before Judge Johnson, or any other justice of the peace in Kansas. But Heltzworth was determined to take Joseph to Carthage before Judge Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph was equally determined not to go, and petitioned the municipal court for a writ of habeas corpus which was granted, and under it the prisoner was honorably discharged. The other parties mentioned in the writ followed his ex-

failure of Constable Bettisworth to drag the Prophet into their midst. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the 'riot' in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two discreet citizens were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not to interfere with the resolutions before passed; active preparations for the extermination of the 'Mormons' were to be continued.

"The authorities at Nauvoo also dispatched trusty messengers to the governor, with truthful accounts of their proceedings, both as regards the destruction of the press and their action in refusing to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Carthage, that he might not be misled by a false representation of the case, or influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the Saints.

"Both parties then appealed to the executive of the State: the mob for assistance to carry out their murderous designs, and to give their proceedings a coloring of lawful authority; and the citizens of Nauvoo for protection against the combinations of their avowed enemies bent upon, and publicly pledged to their extermination.

"Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw and other localities began active operations by sending their committees to the settlements of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one

of three propositions: First, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him: or second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo: or third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the fuss was over. Usually a few days were given the people to consider these propositions, which were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet, to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist the mob forces, and when they were not strong enough retreat to Nauvoo.

"Besides the reports which came to Nauvoo from the Saints who were threatened, the air was filled with rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand.

"Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, from which the Saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were going over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-Mormons in and around Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob, is quite certain; and it is also known that Walter Bagby, the tax collector for Hancock County, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-Mormon agent, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the Saints, and those of like ilk in Illinois.

"While these active, hostile preparations were being made for his destruction, and the extermination of

his people, those at all acquainted with the temperament of the Prophet Joseph, might well know that he was not idle. He kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the governor, whom he petitioned to come to Nauvoo, and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the President of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

"Nor was Joseph and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock County was located, advised him to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, of Carthage, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised the Prophet to go to Carthage, but that he emphatically refused to do. He and all others named in Justice Morrison's warrant, however, went before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace in Nauvoo; had a thorough investigation and were acquitted June 17, 1844.

"In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, June 16, 1844, at which John Taylor was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the apostates, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay ex-

citement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with riot and the violation of law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this court to allay excitement, the mob motioned that a committee wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.

"These pacific measures appearing to have little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law June 18th; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph in person took command of it. He mounted an unfinished frame building near the Mansion, and addressed the Legion and the people for about an hour and a half; during which time he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issue that confronted them. * * * (See page 553.)

"Two days later Joseph requested his brother Hyrum to take his family and go with them to Cincinnati. But Hyrum demurred and said, 'Joseph, I can't leave you!' Joseph, turning to a number of brethren present, said: 'I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood, and I will stay with you and see it out.' But Hyrum Smith was not the kind of man to leave his brother now that the hour of his severest trial had come upon him. His noble nature revolted at the thought, and though the Spirit

element. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with this and the violation of law were willing to go before the courts for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the Negroes' situation, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this court to stay proceedings, the mob motioned that a committee wait upon the judge and give him a cost of tax and fees for giving such advice.

"These pacific measures appearing to have little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the mob, Naylor was placed under martial law June 18th; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph in person took command of it. He mounted an established frame building near the mansion, and addressed the Legion and the people for about an hour and a half; during which time he reviewed the events that had brought upon Naylor the issue that confronted them.

(See page 323.)

"Two days later Joseph requested his brother Hyrum to take his family and go with them to Cincinnati. But Hyrum demurred and said, 'Joseph, I can't leave you.' Joseph, turning to a group of brethren present, said: 'I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood, and I will stay with you and see it out.' But Hyrum said he was not the kind of man to leave his brother now that the hour of his severest trial had come upon him. His noble nature revolted at the thought, and though the spirit

of his people, those at all unacquainted with the temper of the Prophet Joseph, might well know that he was not idle. He kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the governor, whom he petitioned to come to Nauvoo, and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the President of the United States, representing him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

"Not was Joseph and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse H. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock County was located, advised him to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, of Carthage, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised the Prophet to go to Carthage, but that he emphatically refused to do. He and all others named in Justice Morrison's warrant, however, went before David H. Wells, a justice of the peace in Nauvoo; had a thorough investigation and were acquitted June 17, 1844.

"In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, June 16, 1844, at which John Taylor was chairman. Fierce resolutions were adopted, denouncing the persecutions of the apostates, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and stir ex-

had doubtless whispered Joseph that his life and that of Hyrum's would be sacrificed in the impending crisis, his pathetic words, 'Joseph, I can't leave you!' bears testimony to the nobility of the soul that uttered them, and is a witness to the strength of those bonds of love that bound him to his younger brother.

"On the 20th, also, Joseph wrote to the Twelve Apostles, who were on missions, and requested them to return to Nauvoo, as likewise all the Elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the Saints; and thus every effort was being put forth by the people of Nauvoo to resist oppression and maintain their rights.

"In the midst of these preparations, a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well informed and discreet persons be sent to him at Carthage, where he had established for the time his headquarters. This request of the governor's was gladly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent their version of the situation, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

"These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo found the governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters and Higbees, besides others living at Warsaw and Car-

thage. The only audience given to Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were frequently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

"After the governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to the mayor, Joseph Smith, in which he charged that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and violated the constitution in several particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of *habeas corpus*. He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that Joseph was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock County, except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, bent upon his destruction; and since the warrant was made returnable to the magistrate who issued it, or any other justice in the county, the Prophet expressed a willingness to go before any other justice, but very properly refused to go to Carthage; and was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abating the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with a riot had appeared before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of

the peace and a non-Mormon, and had an investigation and were acquitted—yet the governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation. He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts, and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose authority he claimed had been resisted. 'Nothing short of this,' he added, 'can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people.' Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called his attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing Joseph, and that to ensure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as governor, and that of the State to protect those who should go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to Joseph.

"The conduct of the governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary demands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. Joseph, however, wrote a courteous

reply, corrected the governor's errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right. * * * (See page 557.)

"On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards and Messrs Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with the governor, it was decided that Joseph should proceed to Washington and lay the case before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in the letter above referred to. That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting was abandoned; as Joseph received an inspiration to go to the West." (See page 557.)

This was between 9 and 10 o'clock on the night of the 22nd of June, 1844. Preparations were at once entered into to carry out this impression of the Spirit, and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards over the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for "the great basin in the Rocky Mountains." But through the strong persuasions of his wife Emma and others, Joseph returned to Nauvoo the next day (June 23rd), and went to Carthage on the 24th to give himself up to the governor, that official having pledged his honor and that of the State that he should be protected. The other brethren who were accused of riot in destroying the *Expositor* press, etc., also went to Carthage to stand another trial. Having arrived there Joseph and Hyrum, contrary to law,

were remanded to prison and placed in the Carthage jail, where they were cruelly murdered in the afternoon of June 27, 1844. (See page 559-572.)

On the day of the murder Governor Ford had gone to Nauvoo to deliver a speech, and taken with him those of his troops who were most friendly to the Saints, thus leaving the prisoners to their fate. While the governor in his speech was insulting the citizens at Nauvoo, by assuming that all their worst enemies had said of them was true, and threatened them with dire calamities, the blood of the best men of the Nineteenth Century was being spilt in Carthage. The governor afterwards said that the people at Nauvoo manifested some impatience and anger, when he uttered his threats, and well they might, for baser falsehoods were never put in circulation to slander a people.

The governor was invited to stay all night, but he refused and left the city about 6:30 in the evening for Carthage, his escort riding with full speed up Main Street and performing the sword exercise, passed the Temple, and so left the city.

Three miles out he met George D. Grant and David Bettisworth, riding into Nauvoo with the sad news of the death of the Prophet. The governor took them back with him to Grant's house, 1½ miles east of Carthage, that the news might not reach Nauvoo until he had time to have the county records removed from the court-house, and warn the people of Carthage to flee, as he expected an immediate attack from the Nauvoo Legion, and that the whole country would be laid waste.

After being taken back to Carthage George D. Grant mounted an-

other horse and rode that night with the news to Nauvoo.

On the arrival of Governor Ford at Carthage, the following note was addressed to Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-General Dunham of the Nauvoo Legion, dated 12 o'clock at night June 27th, Hamilton Tavern, Carthage:

"The governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken. I say to all citizens of Nauvoo—My brethren be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every assistance possible—has sent orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

"The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the 'Mormons' will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the 'Mormons' will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still; be patient, only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS."

To this note, which was also signed by John Taylor and Samuel H. Smith, Governor Ford added a postscript, telling the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves until the necessary protection could be furnished. The governor then, about 1 o'clock in the morning, went out on the public square and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the "Mormons" would be so exasperated that they would burn the town. Upon this the people fled in all directions, and the governor and his posse took flight in the direction of Quincy.

The next day (June 28th) the bodies of the murdered men were taken to Nauvoo. (See page 573.) Neither tongue nor pen can ever de-

scribe the scene of sorrow and lamentation which was there beheld. The love of these men for the Saints was unbounded, and it had begotten in the people an affection for them that was equally dear and unselfish. They lived in the hearts of the Saints, and thousands would have laid down their lives willingly to have saved theirs.

Arriving at the Mansion the bodies were taken into it to be prepared for burial; and Elder Willard Richards and others addressed some eight or ten thousand of the people in the open air. The Saints were advised to keep peace. Elder Richards stated that he had pledged his honor and his life for their conduct. When the multitude heard that, notwithstanding the sense of outraged justice under which they labored, and this cruel invasion of the rights of liberty and life—in the very midst of their grief and excitement, with the means in their right hands to wreck a terrible vengeance, they voted to a man to trust to the law to deal with these assassins; and if that failed them, they would call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs! History records few actions so sublime as this; and it stands to this day a testimony of the devotion of the Latter-day Saints to law and order, the like of which is not paralleled in the history of our country, if in the world.

Great uneasiness prevailed among the people outside of Nauvoo, respecting the intentions of the Saints. There had been so many falsehoods circulated about acts of violence which had been committed by them, that many supposed they would now seek revenge. They knew that the cold-blooded murder of Joseph and

Hyrum while they were unarmed prisoners, relying upon the pledged honor of the governor and the pledged faith of the State, was a sufficient provocation to enrage any people holding the relationship which the Saints did to the Prophet and Patriarch, and to cause them to take the law in their own hands. Besides, many of those who felt this uneasiness were either members of the mob, or guilty of giving aid and comfort to the mob, and in their secret souls they felt that they merited punishment.

On the 1st of July, two gentlemen—A. Jonas and Hart Fellows—arrived at Nauvoo, with a message from Governor Ford to the city council. Their instructions from the governor were:

"Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas are requested to proceed by the first boat to Nauvoo, and ascertain what is the feeling, disposition and determination of the people there, in reference to the late disturbances, ascertain whether any of them propose in any manner to avenge themselves, whether any threats have been used, and what is proposed generally to be done by them."

These men were also requested to return to Warsaw and learn the state of feeling there and whether the militia, which was assembled there, intended to make an attack upon Nauvoo.

The city council of Nauvoo met, and, speaking for the people, passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, For the purpose of ensuring peace, and promoting the welfare of the county of Hancock and surrounding country, that we will rigidly sustain the laws and the governor of the State, so long as they, and he, sustain us in all our constitutional rights.

"Resolved, secondly, That, to carry the foregoing resolutions into complete effect, inasmuch as the governor has taken from us the public arms, we solicit of him to do the same with all the rest of the public arms of the State.

"Resolved, thirdly, To further secure the peace, friendship and happiness of the people, and allay the excitement that now exists, we will reprobate private revenge on the assassins of General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith by any of the Latter-day Saints. That instead of 'an appeal to arms,' we appeal to the majesty of the law, and will be content with whatever judgment it shall award; and should the law fail, we leave the matter with God.

"Resolved, unanimously, That this city council pledge themselves for the city of Nauvoo, that no aggressions by the citizens of said city shall be made on the citizens of the surrounding country, but we invite them, as friends and neighbors, to use the Savior's golden rule, and 'do unto others as they would have others do unto them,' and we will do likewise.

"Resolved, lastly, That we highly approve of the present public pacific course of the governor to allay excitement and restore peace among the citizens of the country; and while he does so, and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law, until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage, or any other place, for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him, and the law, by all honorable means."

A copy of the foregoing resolutions was inclosed in a letter to the messengers of the governor, and they were invited to attend a public meeting of the citizens which was to be held that afternoon (July 1st) near the Temple.

The meeting was held, and was addressed by Mr. Jonas and others; the resolutions of the city council were read, all of which were endorsed by the people. Votes of thanks were also passed by the meeting to several gentlemen who had manifested friendly feelings and a disposition to see justice done to the Saints.

On the 2nd of July, Elder John Taylor was brought home in his wounded condition from Carthage. His own account of his removal from Carthage to Nauvoo is so graphic

and interesting, that we make the following extract from it:

"Many of the mob came around and treated me with apparent respect, and the officers and people generally looked upon me as a hostage, and feared that my removal would be the signal for the rising of the 'Mormons.' I do not remember the time that I stayed at Carthage, but I think three or four days after the murder, when Brother Marks with a carriage, Brother James Allred with a wagon, Dr. Ells, and a number of others on horseback, came for the purpose of taking me to Nauvoo. I was very weak at the time, occasioned by the loss of blood and the great discharge of my wounds, so that when my wife asked me if I could talk, I could barely whisper 'No.' Quite a discussion arose as to the propriety of my removal, physicians and people of Carthage protesting that it would be my death, while my friends were anxious for my removal if possible.

"I suppose the former were actuated by the above named desire to keep me. Colonel Jonas was, I believe, sincere; he had acted as a friend all the time, and he told my wife she ought to persuade me not to go, for he did not believe I had strength enough to reach Nauvoo. It was finally agreed, however, that I should go: but as it was thought that I could not stand riding in a wagon or carriage, they prepared a litter for me; I was carried down stairs and put on it. A number of men assisted to carry me, some of whom had been engaged in the mob. As soon as I got down stairs I felt much better and strengthened, so that I could talk; I suppose the effect of the fresh air.

"When we had got near the outside of the town, I remembered some woods that we had to go through, and telling a person near to call on Dr. Ells, who was riding a very good horse, I said, 'Doctor, I perceive that the people are getting fatigued with carrying me; a number of 'Mormons' live about two or three miles from here, near our route; will you ride to their settlement as quietly as possible, and have them come out and meet us?' He started off on a gallop immediately. My object in this was to obtain protection in case of an attack, rather than to obtain help to carry me.

"Very soon after the men from Carthage made one excuse after another, until they had all left, and I felt glad to get rid of them. I found that the tramping of those carrying me produced violent pain, and a sleigh was produced and attached to the

hind end of Brother James Allred's wagon, a bed placed upon it, and I propped up on the bed. My wife rode with me, applying ice and ice-water to my wounds. As the sleigh was dragged over the grass on the prairie, which was quite tall, it moved very easily and gave me very little pain.

"When I got within five or six miles of Nauvoo, the brethren commenced to meet me from the city, and they increased in number as we drew nearer, until there was a very large company of people, of all ages and both sexes, principally, however, of men.

"For some time there had been almost incessant rain, so that in many low places in the prairie it was from one to three feet deep in water, and at such places the brethren whom we met took hold of the sleigh, lifted it, and carried it over the water: and when we arrived in the neighborhood of the city, where the roads were excessively muddy and bad, the brethren tore down the fences, and we passed through the fields.

"Never shall I forget the difference of feeling that I experienced between the place that I had left and the one that I had now arrived at. I had left a lot of reckless, bloodthirsty murderers, and had come to the city of the Saints, the people of the living God, friends of truth and righteousness, thousands of whom stood with warm, true hearts to offer their friendship and services, and to welcome my return. It is true it was a painful scene, and brought sorrowful remembrances to mind, but to me it caused a thrill of joy to find myself once more in the bosom of my friends, and to meet with the cordial welcome of true, honest hearts. What was very remarkable, I found myself very much better after my arrival at Nauvoo than I was when I started on my journey, although I had traveled eighteen miles."

At this time the following address was published in the *Times and Seasons*:

"TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

"Deeply impressed for the welfare of all, while mourning the great loss of President Joseph Smith, our 'Prophet and Seer,' and President Hyrum Smith, our 'Patriarch,' we have considered the occasion demanded of us a word of consolation.

"As has been the case in all ages, these Saints have fallen martyrs for the truth's sake, and their escape from the persecution of a wicked world, in blood to bliss, only strengthens our faith, and confirms our religion as pure and holy.

"We, therefore, as servants of the Most High God, having the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the book of Doctrine and Covenants, together with thousands of witnesses, for Jesus Christ, would beseech the Latter-day Saints, in Nauvoo and elsewhere, to hold fast to the faith that has been delivered to them in the last days, abiding in the perfect law of the Gospel.

"Be peaceable, quiet citizens, doing the works of righteousness, and as soon as the Twelve and other authorities can assemble, or a majority of them, the onward course to the great gathering of Israel, and the final consummation of the dispensation of the fulness of times will be pointed out, so that the murder of Abel, the assassination of hundreds, the righteous blood of all the holy Prophets, from Abel to Joseph, sprinkled with the best blood of the Son of God, as the crimson sign of remission, only carries conviction to the bosoms of all intelligent beings, that the cause is just and will continue; and blessed are they that hold out faithful to the end, while apostates, consenting to the shedding of innocent blood, have no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come.

"Union is peace, brethren, and eternal life is the greatest gift of God. Rejoice, then, that you are found worthy to live and die for God. Men may kill the body, but they cannot hurt the soul, and wisdom shall be justified of her children. Amen.

W. W. PHELPS,
W. RICHARDS,
JOHN TAYLOR."

Elder George J. Adams had been appointed to bear letters and other documents to those of the Twelve Apostles who were in the East, and to inform them of the massacre of the Prophet and Patriarch. He had plenty of means to accomplish his journey: but he failed to perform this mission. Elder Jedediah M. Grant, who also left Nauvoo about the same time, did not tarry till he found them and carried them the news. This incident illustrates the difference in the characters and fate of the two men. Adams became an apostate, and his subsequent career has been disgraceful. Jedediah M. Grant was a faithful, true man; he

was subsequently ordained one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies, and at the time of his death he was President Brigham Young's second Counselor.

Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas, the governor's commissioners, after leaving Nauvoo, went to Carthage, and from there to Warsaw. They were joined at the latter town by Colonel John Wood, the mayor of Quincy, and other gentlemen, who made the object of their visit before the people of Warsaw, and Mr. Jonas made a speech to them in a public meeting which had been called. He requested them to say whether they would support Governor Ford in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution, and they unanimously refused to give the pledge. The same sentiment was expressed afterwards to the commissioners by O. C. Skinner, a prominent lawyer, who professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Hancock County.

"If any person" writes George Q. Cannon, "had wished to know which were right and which were wrong—the 'Mormons,' or their enemies—in the troubles which existed in Hancock County, the proceedings at the meetings attended by the commissioners at Nauvoo and at Warsaw would have given him the necessary evidence.

"In the presence of the great and terrible wrongs which they had endured, and which were well calculated to exasperate and drive them to the commission of acts of violence, the Latter-day Saints, with a high regard for the rights of their fellow-citizens, and a desire to maintain peace, had agreed to sustain the governor and the laws in all righteous-

ness, to take no private revenge and leave their cause with God.

"The people of Carthage and Warsaw had been the aggressors in every instance; they had formed themselves into mobs, had threatened the lives of the Saints, and had committed foul and bloody murder, and now refused to sustain the governor in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution. This was in keeping with all their previous conduct. They had not been disturbed in the least of their rights; they did as they pleased: if a Latter-day Saint said or did anything that they thought interfered in the least with them, they raised a great outcry.

"While the Saints were peaceably building houses, making gardens, planting orchards, opening farms and rearing a beautiful city, strictly attending to their own business, these men, who now openly refused to sustain the governor and the laws, were making speeches, writing bitter articles, banding themselves together as mobs, and doing all in their power to create excitement in the country against the Saints and to bring about their destruction. By their refusal to meet the wishes of the governor's commissioners, they plainly exhibited the spirit of mobocracy which filled them.

"What they wanted, and what they seemed determined to have, was the entire removal of the Saints from Hancock County. Not satisfied with killing Joseph and Hyrum, they were eager for more victims. They had tasted blood, and their appetite was awakened, and like wolves, they panted for more.

"They said either the 'Mormons' or, as they styled themselves, 'the citizens,' must leave the county, and

that sooner or later one must go, even if force was necessary to accomplish it. Such a result as their leaving the county never entered their minds; for they knew very well that the Saints would never attempt to force them away. They fully calculated upon the 'Mormons' going, even if they had to use violence to drive them out. They were 'the citizens,' the Saints were only the 'Mormons.'

"They sent a committee to Governor Ford, to inform him of their fixed conviction that it was necessary that one of the parties should leave the county, and desired him to decide which should go. This kind of talk was barefaced deception, yet it deceived nobody. It was well known that the design of these men was to drive the Saints from their homes and lands, and that, while they lived, they would never be content until they had accomplished this. But this committee's speech puzzled poor Ford. He told them that it was not for him to decide such a question. He could not order any body of citizens, he said, whether 'Mormons' or anti-Mormons, out of the county or State.

"With such a reply as this he was doubtless very glad to get them away. Had he been a man of nerve, and disposed to do right, he would have given them a reply which they would probably have respected more than they did this. But they knew very well he was afraid of them, that he dared not do anything to interfere with them, and they despised him, and acted as though he was not in existence, except when it suited their purposes to use him.

"In a letter which Governor Ford wrote about this time, and sent to

Nauvoo, he urged upon the people the necessity of being passive and unresisting, holding over their heads the terrors of mob violence, if they did not hold their peace. He then proceeded to tell what he was pleased to call 'the naked truth.' He declared it was not with any design of insulting their misfortunes, but 'in a pure spirit of friendly concern for the peace and safety of all who repose under the shade of our political fig tree.' Said he:

"The naked truth then is, that most well-informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead. The disapproval is most unusually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the laws and a horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart. The unfortunate victims of this assassination were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their death has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken. Most that is said on the subject is merely from the teeth out; and your people may depend on the fact, that public feeling is now, at this time, as thoroughly against them as it has ever been."

"Governor Ford ought to be good authority for a statement of this kind, and we quote it here to show how wide-spread was the guiltiness of the people in approving of the shedding of that innocent blood which yet stains the floor of Carthage Jail and the soil of the State of Illinois. In this letter he acknowledged that the Saints had behaved well, much better than could have been expected under the circumstances; but if a mob should come against them, he could not protect them.

"He admitted that if he called

upon the 'Mormons' themselves, he would have a reliable force; but if he should do so, he thought it would lead to civil war, in which Nauvoo might be utterly destroyed. 'You may be disposed to ask,' said he, 'What use is there for law and government, if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our constitutions.'

"Strange views these, for a man who wished to be thought a statesman to entertain of the authority of the government! Of what value would law and government be were such views to prevail among rulers? The minority, if unpopular, would be more likely to receive justice from a band of Indians than from a nation where governors held such opinions and acted upon them."

July 30, 1844, Samuel H. Smith, a younger brother of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, died in Nauvoo. (See pages 615-621.)

Before the President of the Twelve Apostles and the majority of the quorum could return to Nauvoo, an anxiety began to be exhibited by certain parties to arrange affairs to suit themselves. Among the first of these attempts was that of William Marks, who was President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was eager to have a trustee-in-trust appointed to take charge of affairs; others were anxious to have the Church reorganized, and no doubt wanted to appoint a President; but Doctor Willard Richards, Bishop N. K. Whitney and other staunch men were opposed to any appointments or other business of that character being attended to before the Twelve Apostles returned from the East.

Brother George A. Smith, who,

with other Elders, was laboring in Michigan at the time the news came to them of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum, reached Nauvoo on the night of the 28th of July. Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived from his mission on the 10th inst., and the Elders from various parts of the States, having had the sad news of the death of the Prophet and Patriarch confirmed, began to arrive home. They seemed weighed down with gloom.

Aug. 3rd, Sidney Rigdon arrived from Pittsburg, and began immediately to lay his plans to have the Church accept him as President, or, as he called it, "guardian." Elders Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith and Willard Richards saw him after his arrival, and an appointment was arranged to meet together in council the next morning (Sunday Aug. 4th); but he failed to meet with them. He evidently had no wish to come face to face with them, as he would have done had his intentions been honest, upright and honorable; but he desired to get at the people, and shunned councils in which the Apostles and the men of authority and understanding met. He was not averse, however, to holding secret councils with a certain class of persons—those who had lost their faith, and were in the dark, and were ready for any delusion that might present itself. To these he related certain visions and revelations that he claimed to have had, and which they accepted as divine. But in endeavoring to hide his plans from the Apostles, he plainly showed his true character, and that he was playing an underhanded game.

Sunday Aug. 4, 1844, at 10 a. m. the people assembled at the grove, which was the usual place for hold-

ing the larger meetings in the summer time, and Sidney Rigdon preached from the words: "For my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." He related a vision which he said the Lord had shown him concerning the situation of the Church, and said there must be a guardian appointed to build the Church up to Joseph as he had begun it. He was the identical man, he said, that the ancient Prophets had sung about, wrote and rejoiced over, and he was sent to do the identical work that had been the theme of all the Prophets in every preceding generation. He told many more things equally foolish to the people, about the fate that awaited his enemies and the great things that he was to perform, adding that if it were not for two or three things which he knew, the Latter-day Saints would be utterly destroyed, and not a soul be left to tell the tale.

In alluding to this sermon afterwards, Brother Parley P. Pratt humorously said of himself, "I am the identical man the Prophets never sang nor wrote a word about."

In the afternoon Sidney Rigdon requested William Marks, President of the Stake, to give a notice out to the Saints that there would be a special meeting of the Church held at that place the ensuing Thursday, the 8th inst., for the purpose of choosing a "guardian." Marks was in sympathy with Rigdon, and it seemed to suit him exactly to have this meeting held, for, whether he aspired to position himself or not, he was very anxious to have a President and trustee-in-trust appointed without delay. Willard Richards proposed waiting till the Twelve

Apostles returned. Marks replied that President Rigdon wanted the meeting on Tuesday, but he had put it off till Thursday. He justified the haste in calling the meeting by saying that Rigdon was some distance from his family, which was in Pittsburgh, Penn., and he wanted to know if the Saints had anything for him to do; if not, he wanted to go on his way, for there was a people numbering thousands and tens of thousands who would receive him; he wanted to visit other branches of the Church around, but he had come to Nauvoo first.

"The design in this," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, "was very clear. The excuse was that Sidney Rigdon's family was in Pittsburgh, but what of that? To an Elder, in the path of duty, being at a distance from his family made no difference, if God required his labors. But Sidney Rigdon had only arrived in Nauvoo the day before, and yet he was in such haste that he could not wait a few days for the Twelve Apostles to arrive! The fact was he hoped to carry out his design before they could reach Nauvoo. It was no part of his scheme to wait for them.

"The leading Elders were all dissatisfied with the appointment of a meeting in so hurried a manner. The Twelve Apostles were soon expected home, they said, and to have a meeting before their arrival seemed like a plot to take advantage of the situation of the Saints. But God was watching over His people, and His providence was overruling all for good and for the accomplishment of His designs."

The following morning (Aug. 5th), those of the Twelve who were in Nauvoo and Bishop N. K. Whitney

called upon Sidney Rigdon. He agreed to meet them in council at Elder John Taylor's after dinner. He did so, and when he came in he paced the room, and told them they were used up and divided, the brethren were voting every way and the anti-Mormons had got them. "You cannot stay in the country," said he; "everything is in confusion, you can do nothing, you lack a great leader, you want a head, and unless you unite upon that head, you are blown to the four winds, the anti-Mormons will carry the election—a guardian must be appointed." This was the style of his conversation from the time he reached Nauvoo, predicting evil upon the people, extolling himself, and relating the great things he would accomplish, all with a design to induce the people to accept him as the leader of the Church.

These remarks stirred up Elder George A. Smith; he knew them to be incorrect and prompted by a wrong spirit. Said he: "Brethren, Elder Rigdon is entirely mistaken. there is no division; the brethren are united; the election will be unanimous, and the friends of law and order will be elected by a thousand majority. There is no occasion to be alarmed, President Rigdon is inspiring fears there are no grounds for."

The result proved that he was right and Rigdon was wrong. That election was one of the most unanimous ever held in Nauvoo. There were only five opposition votes polled in the city, and in the county the majority for the "law and order" candidates, as the men for whom the Saints voted were called, was over one thousand, and this, too, after the votes which the anti-Mormons

had smuggled in from other counties had been counted!

Before Rigdon left the council he said that he did not expect the people to choose a "guardian" on Thursday, but to have a prayer meeting, an interchange of thought and feeling, and warm up each other's hearts. The result showed how much confidence could be placed in his word, for when the day arrived, his proposition was not to have a prayer meeting, but to select and appoint a "guardian."

All this transpired at Nauvoo while President Young and the other absent members of the Twelve were making their way home from the Eastern States, where they were laboring in the ministry when the news of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum first reached them. In those days there were neither railways nor telegraph lines in the western States; hence it took a comparatively long time before they received what they considered reliable information of the foul crime, as all news had to be sent by private messengers or by tardy mails. And when finally they were convinced that the murder had been perpetrated it took several days before they could arrange their affairs and get together to commence the homeward journey. However, they got ready as quick as possible, and on July 24, 1844, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight left Boston for the West, and traveled by rail to Albany, New York. There they met Orson Pratt Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff in the evening of the same day, and in company with these brethren continued the journey to Buffalo, from whence they took steamer to Detroit and Chicago, arriving in the latter

town, Aug. 1st. From Chicago they traveled by stage 160 miles to Galeana, on the Mississippi River, and thence down the river by steamboat to Nauvoo, where they arrived Aug. 6th, at 8 o'clock p. m.

The return of the Twelve caused the Saints to rejoice, and this was not without cause; for in Nauvoo plotters were at work against the interest of the Church, and wolves in sheep's clothing were laying plans to obtain possession of the flock. The chief shepherds had been slain, and now false ones began to approach the flock, claiming it as their own. It was truly a critical time and the faithful Saints very much desired the presence of the Twelve Apostles, who now constituted the highest authority in the Church. Its President was a man of unflinching integrity and unwavering mind—a man who had never faltered. Its members were men of ripe experience and matured wisdom—familiar with the law of God, the authority of the Priesthood and the organization of the Church. If Rigdon's assumptions and claims were right, they were the men whose statement to that effect would have weight and carry with it confidence; if they were wrong—which was the prevailing opinion—they were the men to expose and handle him. The faithful Saints, knowing this, had therefore been earnestly praying for the Twelve, that they might have a safe and speedy journey to Nauvoo, where their presence was so much needed.

There was evidently a providence connected with having Rigdon's meeting postponed from Tuesday the 6th till Thursday the 8th of August. The hand of the Lord was in Wm. Marks' action in this relation, for

the Twelve arrived home on Tuesday evening. Thus once more there was a quorum of Apostles among the Saints; once more they had those who held the keys of the Priesthood and Presidency in their midst; and though gloom reigned in the city because of the death of the loved ones who had gone, yet the presence of the Twelve in their midst was the signal for a general feeling of relief among the faithful Saints, who, through this were inspired with fresh courage and strength. Also the Twelve felt thankful to God for having preserved their lives and led them safe and well back to their homes and the city of the Saints, where they once more could enjoy the society of their families and warm-hearted friends.

No time was lost by President Young and the other Apostles after their arrival at Nauvoo in finding out the true condition of affairs. After holding a council at the house of Elder Taylor, who was recovering from his wounds, a meeting was called of the Twelve Apostles, High Council and High Priests. They met on Aug. 7th at 4 p. m., the day after their arrival, and after the meeting was opened, President Brigham Young called upon Sidney Rigdon to make a statement concerning his message to the Saints, and the vision and revelation which he stated he had received. Rigdon arose and explained himself as follows:

"The object of my mission is to visit the Saints and offer myself to them as a guardian. I had a vision at Pittsburgh, June 27th. This was presented to my mind not as an open vision, but rather a continuation of the vision mentioned in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

"It was shown to me that this Church must be built up to Joseph, and that all the blessings we receive must come through

him. I have been ordained a spokesman to Joseph, and I must come to Nauvoo and see that the Church is governed in a proper manner. Joseph sustains the same relationship to this Church as he has always done. No man can be the successor of Joseph.

"The kingdom is to be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph; there must be revelation still. The martyred Prophet is still the head of this Church; every quorum should stand as you stood in your washings and consecrations. I have been consecrated a spokesman to Joseph, and I was commanded to speak for him. The Church is not disorganized though our head is gone.

"We may have a diversity of feelings on this matter. I have been called to be a spokesman unto Joseph, and I want to build up the Church unto him; and if the people want me to sustain this place, I want it upon the principle that every individual shall acknowledge it for himself.

"I propose to be a guardian to the people; in this I have discharged my duty and done what God has commanded me, and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not."

When he had finished, President Brigham Young made some remarks, a summary of which we herewith give as follows:

"I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject.

"I know there are those in our midst who will seek the lives of the Twelve as they did the lives of Joseph and Hyrum. We shall ordain others and give the fulness of the Priesthood, so that if we are killed the fulness of the Priesthood may remain.

"Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come.

"How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests,'"

According to the appointment of William Marks for a special meeting to be held on Thursday, Aug. 8th, the people assembled at the hour designated—10 o'clock a. m.—at the

grove, east of the Temple. There was a large attendance, everyone feeling a deep interest in the object for which the meeting had been called, namely, to choose a "guardian" or President and also a trustee-in-trust. The wind was unfavorable for speaking from the stand, and a wagon was, therefore, drawn to a position opposite the stand, that was thought to be suitable to speak from. Into this Sidney Rigdon, William Marks, George James and probably one or two more ascended. After the meeting was opened, Sidney Rigdon arose to speak. Usually he was a fluent, impassioned speaker, and excelled in oratory; but upon this occasion he was visibly embarrassed, and spoke slowly and in a very labored manner. Speaking nevertheless for an hour and a half, his hearers became exceedingly tired. The difficulty which he seemed to labor under in speaking could but have its effects, for the Latter-day Saints above all people in the world, are the most scrutinizing and critical when men who make great pretensions address them. They soon discern the spirit which possesses them, and quickly decide upon the weight there is to be attached to their utterances.

On this occasion they were particularly on the alert as the object of their gathering was of the greatest importance, but they saw nothing in Rigdon or in his remarks which gave them evidence that he was the man to lead them. They heard from him no voice or sound that marked him as the true shepherd.

As soon as Sidney Rigdon had finished his speech and had sat down, President Young arose and made a few remarks. He had taken a seat

in the stand after Sidney Rigdon had left it to occupy the wagon. The congregation wheeled around and faced him, turning their backs upon Sidney Rigdon. It was the first sound of Brigham's voice which the people had heard since he had gone east on his mission, and the effect upon them was most wonderful. None who were present on that occasion can ever forget the impression it made upon them! If Joseph had risen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could hardly have been more startling. It seemed to be the voice of Joseph himself; and not only that: but it seemed in the eyes of the people as though it was the very person of Joseph which stood before them.

"A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of," writes George Q. Cannon. "The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and then the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and, in some hearts probably, doubt and uncertainty; but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead.

"On that occasion President Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the Scriptures as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence,

seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph had been left for Brigham Young.

* * * When Elijah the Prophet was taken away, his mantle fell from him, and it was taken up by Elisha. He came to the river Jordan and he smote the waters, and they parted hither and thither. And when the sons of the Prophets saw him, they said, 'The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha,' and they paid him honor, and acknowledged him as their Prophet and leader. So with President Brigham Young upon this occasion; the people said one to another, 'The spirit of Joseph rests upon Brigham;' they knew that he was the man chosen to lead them, and they honored him accordingly. In his remarks to the congregation, he alluded to the fact that instead of himself and brethren finding them mourning the death of their great leader, as Israel did the departure of Moses, they found them holding meetings to choose his successor. But if they wished to obtain the mind and will of the Lord concerning this subject, why did they not meet according to the order, and have a general assembly of the several quorums, which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church, a tribunal from whose decisions there was no appeal? In a moment, the few words he spoke upon this subject threw a flood of light upon it. The Elders remembered then the proper order. He desired to see an assembly of the quorums at 2 o'clock that afternoon, every quorum in its place and order, and a general meeting also of the members.

"The tones of President Young's voice, his appearance, everything he said and the spirit which accompanied

his words, convinced the people that the leader whom God had selected to guide them stood before them. He was the master spirit on the occasion: and then, and afterwards in the following meeting, Sidney Rigdon was as ignorant as a child might be in the presence of a wise and experienced man. There was a power, an influence and a wisdom manifested with which he could not cope. Probably no few words that were ever uttered by a servant of God gave greater relief and satisfaction than those spoken that morning by President Young; for at no other period in the history of the Church had the people beheld such a crisis. As far as our observation went, (we were only a boy at the time,) the people were divided into three classes from the time of the death of Joseph up to this meeting of which we speak. One class felt clearly and understandingly that President Brigham Young was the man whose right it was to preside, he being the President of the Twelve Apostles, and that body being, through the death of Joseph and Hyrum, the presiding quorum in the Church. Another class were not quite clear as to who would be called to preside; but they felt very certain that Sidney Rigdon was not the man. They did not believe that God would choose a coward and a traitor to lead His people, to both of which characters they believed Rigdon had a claim. The third class, and we think its members were few, was composed of those who had no clear views one way or the other. They were undecided in their feelings.

"From this third class Rigdon afterwards drew away a few persons. They were ready to deny the faith

and to forsake the truth, and, of course, were fit subjects for him to deceive. But the Latter-day Saints are a people of too positive a character to furnish many members to a class like this third of which we speak. Their views upon all subjects which are brought to their attention, and in which they have an interest, are very decided, the most so probably of any other people on the earth, and especially so where they are faithful to the duties of their religion.

"With very few exceptions, then, the people returned to their homes from that meeting filled with great rejoicing. All uncertainty and anxiety were removed. They had heard the voice of the shepherd, and they knew it."

In the afternoon the people were on the ground punctually at the time appointed. The several quorums were organized on and around the stand according to order. The following members of the quorum of the Twelve were present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. After the meeting was opened President Young arose and addressed the people. The Church had no short hand reporters in those days, but the following synopsis of his speech on that memorable occasion is found in the history of the Church:

"Attention all! This congregation makes me think of the days of King Benjamin, the multitude being so great that all could not hear. I request the brethren not to have any feelings for being convened this afternoon, for it is necessary; we want you all to be still and give attention, that all may hear. Let none complain because of the situation of the congregation, we will do the best we can.

"For the first time in my life, for the first

time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God in the Nineteenth Century, without a Prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation—Apostles whom God has called by revelation through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to bear off the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

"This people have hitherto walked by sight and not by faith. You have had the Prophet in your midst. Do you all understand? You have walked by sight and without much pleading to the Lord to know whether things were right or not.

"Heretofore you have had a Prophet as the mouth of the Lord to speak to you, but he has sealed his testimony with his blood, and now, for the first time, are you called to walk by faith, not by sight.

"The first position I take in behalf of the Twelve and the people is, to ask a few questions. I ask the Latter-day Saints: Do you, as individuals, at this time, want to choose a Prophet or a guardian? Inasmuch as our Prophet and Patriarch are taken from our midst, do you want some one to guard, to guide and lead you through this world into the kingdom of God or not? All that want some person to be a guardian or a Prophet, a spokesman or something else, signify it by raising the right hand. (No votes.)

"When I came to this stand I had peculiar feelings and impressions. The faces of this people seem to say, We want a shepherd to guide and lead us through this world. All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.

"If any man thinks he has influence among this people to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is power with the Apostles which will carry them off victorious through all the world, and build up and defend the Church and kingdom of God.

"What do the people want? I feel as though I wanted the privilege to weep and mourn for thirty days at least, then rise up, shake myself, and tell the people what the Lord wants of them; although my heart is too full of mourning to launch forth into business transactions and the organization of the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth in the discharge of those duties God has placed upon me.

"I now wish to speak of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If the Church is organized, and you want to know how it is organized, I will

tell you. I know your feelings—do you want me to tell your feelings?

"Here is President Rigdon, who was Counselor to Joseph. I ask, where are Joseph and Hyrum? They are gone beyond the veil; and if Elder Rigdon wants to act as his counselor, he must go beyond the veil where he is.

"There has been much said about President Rigdon being President of the Church, and leading the people, being the head, etc. Brother Rigdon has come sixteen hundred miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him; but I say unto you that the quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

"The Twelve are appointed by the finger of God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body, who have the keys of the Priesthood—the keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the world; this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of the Church.

"I do not know whether my enemies will take my life or not, and I do not care, for I want to be with the man I love.

"You cannot fill the office of a Prophet, Seer and Revelator: God must do this. You are like children without a father and sheep without a shepherd. You must not appoint any man at our head; if you should, the Twelve must ordain him. You cannot appoint a man at our head; but if you do want any other man or men to lead you, take them and we will go our way to build up the kingdom in all the world.

"I know who are Joseph's friends, and who are his enemies. I know where the keys of the kingdom are, and where they will eternally be. You cannot call a man to be a Prophet; you cannot take Elder Rigdon and place him above the Twelve; if so, he must be ordained by them.

"I tell you there is an overanxiety to hurry matters here. You cannot take any man and put him at the head; you would scatter the Saints to the four winds, you would sever the Priesthood. So long as we remain as we are, the heavenly Head is in constant co-operation with us; and if you go out of that course, God will have nothing to do with you.

"Again, perhaps some think that our beloved brother Rigdon would not be honored, would not be looked to as a friend; but if he does right, and remains faithful he will

not act against our counsel, nor we against his, but act together, and we shall be as one.

"I again repeat, no man can stand at our head, except God reveals it from the heavens.

"I have spared no pains to learn my lesson of the kingdom in this world and in the eternal worlds; and if it were not so, I could go and live in peace; but for the Gospel and your sakes I shall stand in my place. We are liable to be killed all the day long. You have never lived by faith.

"Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world: we can build a kingdom faster than Satan can kill the Saints off.

"What do you want? Do you want a Patriarch for the whole Church? To this we are perfectly willing. If brother Samuel H. Smith had been living, it would have been his right and privilege; but he is dead, he is gone to Joseph and Hyrum, he is out of the reach of bullets and spears, and he can waft himself with his brothers, his friends and the Saints.

"Do you want a Patriarch? Here is brother William left; here is Uncle John Smith, uncle to the Prophet Joseph, left; it is their right. The right of patriarchal blessings belongs to Joseph's family.

"Do you want a trustee-in-trust? Has there been a Bishop who has stood in his lot yet? What is his business? To take charge of the temporal affairs, so that the Twelve and the Elders may go on their business. Joseph condescended to do their business for them. Joseph condescended to offer himself for President of the United States, and it was a great condescension.

"Do you want a spokesman? Here are Elder Rigdon, Brother Amasa Lyman (whom Joseph expected to take as a Counselor) and myself. Do you want the Church properly organized, or do you want a spokesman to be chief cook and bottle-washer? Elder Rigdon claims to be spokesman to the Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act in that office? If he wants now to be a spokesman to the Prophet, he must go the other side of the veil, for the Prophet is there, but Elder Rigdon is here. Why will Elder Rigdon be a fool? Who knows anything of the Priesthood, or the organization of the kingdom of God? I am plain.

"Does this Church want it as God organized it? or do you want to clip the power of the Priesthood, and let those who have the

keys of the Priesthood go and build up the kingdom in all the world, wherever the people will hear them?

"If there is a spokesman, if he is a king and priest, let him go and build up a kingdom unto himself; that is his right and it is the right of many here, but the Twelve are at the head of it.

"I want to live on the earth and spread truth through all the world. You Saints of Latter-days want things right. If 10,000 men rise up and say they have the Prophet Joseph Smith's shoes, I know they are impostors. In the Priesthood you have a right to build up a kingdom, if you know how the Church is organized.

"Now, if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation, for all the world; don't put a thread between the Priesthood and God.

"I will ask, who has stood next to Joseph and Hyrum? I have, and I will stand next to him. We have a head, and that head is the Apostleship, the spirit and power of Joseph, and we can now begin to see the necessity of that Apostleship.

"Brother Rigdon was at his side—not above. No man has a right to counsel the Twelve but Joseph Smith. Think of these things. You cannot appoint a Prophet; but if you let the Twelve remain and act in their place, the keys of the kingdom are with them and they can manage the affairs of the Church and direct all things aright.

"Now, all this does not lessen the character of President Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the veil—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder. May God bless you all." (President Young said much more which was not written.)

Amasa M. Lyman said:

"I do not rise to electioneer. I am gratified with the open, frank and plain exposition of President Young. He has seen the relation I bear to my deceased brother. I never did conceive it gave me a precedence to go before the Twelve.

"I do not make exceptions to anything he has said. I believe there is no power, or officer, or means wanted to carry on the work, but what is in the Twelve. I am satisfied that no man can carry on the work,

but the power that is in the Twelve, as has been stated.

"There is one thing to secure the salvation of this people, and that is not in union alone, it is for you to know the right and be united—it has been presented to you by President Young, and I will back him up. All I design to do is to redeem my pledge.

"President Young has stood next to the Prophet Joseph, with the Twelve, and I have stood next to them, and I will stand next to them. I have been at the back of Joseph Smith, and will be at the back of the Twelve forever, and then we will be saved.

"There is no need of a President, we have a head here. What is that head? The quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the head. We now see the necessity of the Apostleship.

"I might rise up as well as any other man to ask for the Presidency, but I could not do it without endangering my salvation. This is the power that turns the key to bestow salvation through all the land, in the way that Joseph commenced it, the first one called to do the same in all the world. If Joseph Smith had any power to bear off the kingdom of God, the Twelve have the same.

"I could not advocate a choosing of a President, and myself a candidate; so that you know the place I occupy is, to stand to the Twelve, the same as the Twelve did to Joseph, either on one side or the other. I do not want to go before them or to fall asleep. I want to see the kingdom roll forth by our united faith and efforts."

Sidney Rigdon was next called on, but he excused himself and called upon W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. During the entire meeting he sat in the stand with his back to the congregation, and much of the time with his head down. He had no inclination to show himself to the people, and if his conduct and appearance gave a correct idea of his feelings, he felt badly. Not one word did he utter in a public congregation of the Saints after making his remarks that morning.

Wm. W. Phelps arose and said:

"With the knowledge that I have I cannot suppose but that this congregation will act aright this day. I believe enough has been said to prepare the minds of the people to act.

"I have known many of them for fourteen years, and I have always known them to submit with deference to the authorities of the Church. I have seen the Elders of Israel and the people take their lives in their hands and go without purse or scrip in winter and in summer. I have seen them prepare for war, and ready to pour out their heart's blood, and that is an evidence that they will walk by counsel.

"I am happy to see this little lake of faces, and to see the same spirit and disposition manifested here to-day, as it was the day after the bloody tragedy, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were brought home dead to this city. Then you submitted to the law's slow delay, and handed the matter over to God; and I see the same thing to-day—you are now determined as one man to sustain the authorities of the Church, and I am happy that the men who were on Joseph's right and left hand submit themselves to the authority of the Priesthood.

"I have feelings about this, especially for President Rigdon, and I want to say that there is a quorum that the Twelve belong to, and that the people will receive an endowment. I brought President Rigdon into that quorum, and he received in part the blessings. I could not bear the thought of President Rigdon going into the world without his endowment. He did obtain part, and I hope he will submit.

"I want Brother Amasa to stand on the side of the Twelve, and they are wanted there still—let them go on and sustain them in that high office. You cannot put in a guardian of the Church.

"We have hitherto walked by sight, and if a man wanted to know anything he had only to go to Brother Joseph. Joseph has gone, but he has not left us comfortless.

"I want to say that Brother Joseph came and enlightened me two days after he was buried. He came the same as when he was alive, and in a moment appeared to me in his own house. He said, Tell the drivers to drive on. I asked if the building was on wheels? He said, Certainly. I spoke, and away it went. We drove all round the hills and valleys. He then told the drivers to drive on over the river into Iowa. I told him Devil Creek was before us. He said, Drive over Devil Creek; I don't care for Devil Creek or any other creek; and we did so. Then I awoke.

"There is a combination of persons in this city who are in continual intercourse with William and Wilson Law, who are at the bottom of the matter to destroy all that stands for Joseph, and there are persons

now in this city who are only wanting power to murder all the persons that still hold on to Joseph; but let us go ahead and build up the Temple, and then you will be endowed. When the Temple is completed all the honorable mothers in Israel will be endowed, as well as the Elders.

"If you want to do right, uphold the Twelve. If they die, I am willing to die with them; but do your duty and you will be endowed. I will sustain the Twelve as long as I have breath.

"When Joseph was going away he said he was going to die, and I said I was willing to die with him; but as I am now alive, as a lawyer in Israel, I am determined to live.

"I want you all to recollect that Joseph and Hyrum have only been removed from the earth, and they now counsel and converse with the Gods beyond the reach of powder and ball."

Parley P. Pratt was the next speaker. He said:

"What has been said has been well said. If there are men here who are our enemies, I'll tell you when they will cease to be here: they will be here while you will deal with them. If I exchange property or deal with men, I do it with those whom I know to be faithful.

"If there are wicked men here, it is because we support them. Stop dealing with them, and they will go away. Will I support them? No, I would deal with all honest men whom I know to be such.

"I am willing to do good to all men, especially to the household of faith. Our enemies will cease to dwell here when you cease to deal with them. Mobs and wicked men will cease when you cease to support them.

"I know we can all live and be happy too, when we deal with honest men. If a man wants a doctor or a lawyer, he will send directly for the worst man he can find.

"I would die a natural death sooner than I would have a wicked doctor to help me off. I would go without suing all the days of my life before I would go to a lawyer to sue. I will not say anything about the merchants, because you all know them."

President Brigham Young again arose and said:

"There is more business than can be done this afternoon, but we can accomplish all we want to have done without calling this convention of the whole Church. I am going to present to you the leading items.

"I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for

yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him, but not unless you intend to follow him and support him as you did Joseph. Do not say so without you mean to take his counsel hereafter.

"And I would say the same for the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel; and if they do not counsel you as you please, don't turn round and oppose them.

"I want every man, before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the Priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.

"We want men appointed to take charge of the business that did lay on the shoulders of Joseph. Let me say to you that this kingdom will spread more than ever.

"The Twelve have the power now—the Seventies, the Elders and all of you can have power to go and build up the kingdom in the name of Israel's God. Nauvoo will not hold all the people that will come into the kingdom.

"We want to build the Temple, so as to get our endowment; and if we do our best, and Satan will not let us build it, we will go into the wilderness and we will receive the endowment, for we will receive an endowment anyhow.

"Will you abide our counsel? I again say, my soul for any man's, if they will abide our counsel, that they will go right into heaven. We have all the signs and tokens to give to the porter at the door, and he will let us in."

President Young then addressed himself to the quorums of the Priesthood present, and said:

"Do you want Brother Rigdon to stand forward as your leader, your guide, your spokesman?"

But Sidney Rigdon told him at this point that he desired him to bring up the other question first, which he did by asking:

"Does the Church want, and is it their only desire to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people? Here are the Apostles, the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants—they are written on the tablet of my heart. If the Church want the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into

their calling and hold the keys of this kingdom, every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it. All that are in favor of this, in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand."

The vote was unanimous. He then said:

"If there are any of the contrary mind, every man and every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner."

Not a hand was raised. President Young then continued:

"We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in our bosom along with us; we want such men as Brother Rigdon. He has been sent away by Brother Joseph to build up a kingdom; let him keep the instructions and calling; let him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburgh, and we will lift up his hands to Almighty God. I think we may have a printing office and a gathering there. If the devil still tries to kill us he will have enough to do.

"The next is President Marks. Our feelings are to let him stand as President of the Stake, as heretofore. We can build the Temple, etc.

"You did not know who you had among you. Joseph so loved this people that he gave his life for them; Hyrum loved his brother and this people unto death. Joseph and Hyrum have given their lives for the Church. But very few knew Joseph's character; he loved you unto death—you did not know it until after his death: he has now sealed his testimony with his blood.

"If the Twelve had been here we would not have seen him given up; he should not have been given up. He was in your midst, but you did not know him; he has been taken away, for the people are not worthy of him.

"The world is wide. I can preach in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, etc. I can preach in all the world, and the devils cannot find us. I'll swear to you I will not be given up.

"There is much to be done. You have men among you who sleep with one eye open. The foundation is laid by our Prophet, and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which is laid, and we will have our endowment if the Lord will.

"As the authorities do not want us to do military duty, don't do it. If it is necessary

my neck is ready for the knife; as for myself, I am determined to build up the kingdom of God: and bye-and-bye there will be a gleanings of grapes, and it may be said, 'To your tents, O Israel.'

"We can build on the foundation that was laid by the Prophet. Joseph has finished his work, and all the devils in hell and all the mobbers on earth could not take his life until he had accomplished his work. God said, I will put a veil over his eyes and lead him up to the slaughter like a sheep to be killed, for the people are not worthy of him, though God loves this people.

"Let no man suppose that the kingdom is rent from you; that it is not organized. If all the quorums of the Church were slain, except the High Priests, they would rise up with the keys of the kingdom, and have the powers of the Priesthood upon them, and build up the kingdom, and the devil cannot help himself.

"You can go to a healthy country, buy the land, and don't let a cursed scoundrel get in your midst. Let there be good men, good women, and whenever a man comes with a wheel-barrow full of goods, don't sell him land, don't let him a house, nor buy of him.

"Suppose we had ten thousand such places, and increasing in greatness, perfectly free from these poor devils, we should feel better than we do now. Let us all be humble and get our endowments—all be humble, industrious and prudent, what sort of a kingdom would it be. The foundation is laid for more than we can think or talk about to-day.

"Is it the will of this congregation that they will be tithed until the Temple is finished, as they have hitherto been? If so, signify it by the uplifted hand. (The vote was unanimous.)

"The men will act that have never acted before, and they will have the power and authority to do it. Is it the mind of this congregation to loose the hands of the Twelve, and enable us to go and preach to all the world? We want to know the feelings of the people. Is it your will to support the Twelve in all the world in their missions? (The congregation sustained this question by a unanimous vote.) Will you leave it to the Twelve to dictate about the finances of the Church? and will it be the mind of this people that the Twelve teach what will be the duties of the Bishops in handling the affairs of the Church? I want this, because twelve men can do it just as well as calling this immense congregation together at any other time. (A unanimous vote.)

"We shall have a Patriarch, and the right is in the family of Joseph Smith, his brothers, his sons, or some one of his relations. Here is Uncle John, he has been ordained a Patriarch. Brother Samuel would have taken the office if he had been alive; it would have been his right; the right is in Uncle John, or one of his brothers. I know that it would have belonged to Samuel. But as it is, if you leave it to the Twelve, they will wait until they know who is the man. (Read Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107, V. 39.) Will you leave it to the Twelve, and they dictate the matter? (A unanimous vote.) I know it will be let alone for the present.

"I feel to bring up Brother Rigdon; we are of one mind with him and he with us. Will this congregation uphold him in the place he occupies by the prayer of faith and let him be one with us and we with him? (Unanimous.) The Twelve will dictate and see to other matters. There will be a committee for the Temple; and now let men stand to their posts and be faithful."

After the benediction was offered by Parley P. Pratt, the meeting was adjourned until the October conference.

The result of this meeting gave general satisfaction; the Saints were relieved of a great burden, and though still full of sadness because of Joseph and Hyrum's death, they felt truly thankful to God that they no longer were without a leader.

But there were a few persons who were much disappointed at the turn affairs had taken. Sidney Rigdon, Wm. Marks and several others, who were actually apostates at heart, did not wish the Twelve to preside. In their secret councils they had laid altogether different plans in relation to the government of the Church and made secret preparations in relation thereto. Now that the Twelve were accepted as the highest authority in the Church, all their projects had been destroyed.*

*The contents of the following pages are mostly taken from George Q. Cannon's "History of the Church" as published in the *Juvenile Instructor*.
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President Young and the other Apostles took hold of the new duties which devolved upon them with great zeal and energy. They were surrounded by enemies, and they had great responsibility devolving upon them. Joseph's presence and personal superintendence, during his lifetime, had superseded the necessity of strictness and thorough organization in many directions which were now felt to be essential. Bishops N. K. Whitney and George Miller were appointed to act as trustees-in-trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and it was decided also to increase the number of quorums of Seventies. An epistle was issued to the Saints in Nauvoo and all the world, under date of Aug. 15, 1844, of which we give the opening paragraphs. The epistle says:

"Forasmuch as the Saints have been called to suffer deep affliction and persecution, and also to mourn the loss of our beloved Prophet and also our Patriarch, who have suffered a cruel martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus, having voluntarily yielded themselves to cruel murderers who had sworn to take their lives, and thus like good shepherds have laid down their lives for the sheep, therefore it becomes necessary for us to address you at this time on several important subjects.

"You are now without a Prophet present with you in the flesh to guide you; but you are not without Apostles, who hold the keys of power to seal on earth that which shall be sealed in Heaven, and to preside over all the affairs of the Church in all the world; being still under the direction of the same God, and being dictated by the same Spirit, having the same manifestations of the Holy Ghost to dictate all the affairs of the Church in all the world, to build up the kingdom upon the foundation that the Prophet Joseph has laid, who still holds the keys of this last dispensation, and will hold them to all eternity, as a King and Priest unto the Most High God, ministering in heaven, on earth, or among the spirits of the departed dead, as seemeth good to Him who sent him.

"Let no man presume for a moment that

his place will be filled by another; for, remember he stands in his own place, and always will; and the Twelve Apostles of this dispensation stand in their own place and always will, both in time and in eternity, to minister, preside and regulate the affairs of the whole Church.

"How vain are the imaginations of the children of men, to presume for a moment that the slaughter of one, two, or a hundred of the leaders of this Church could destroy an organization, so perfect in itself and so harmoniously arranged that it will stand while one member of it is left alive upon the earth. Brethren, be not alarmed, for if the Twelve should be taken away, still there are powers and offices in existence which will bear the Kingdom of God triumphantly victorious in all the world. This Church may have Prophets many, and Apostles many, but they are all to stand in due time in their proper organization, under the direction of those who hold the keys."

The epistle then gave directions concerning the gathering, urging the Saints who had capital to come to Nauvoo, employ the poor and help build up the city. The building of the Temple was given a prominent place, and the necessity of every member proceeding immediately to tithe himself was set forth with great plainness.

There was a disposition manifested by some men during those days to lead off companies into the wilderness, promising the people that they would there receive their endowments. A report was circulated that President Young and the other Apostles had a secret understanding with the men who set themselves up as the leaders of these companies, to the effect that they were to take away all that they could; and although in public the Twelve would speak against their going, yet privately they wished them to go. This was a very cunning plan of the evil one, by which he hoped to break up the people and destroy the work of God. If President Young, or any of the

Apostles should speak in public against the formation of these companies, and say to the people that they ought not to leave Nauvoo at that time, these men who started this lying report would say. "Did we not tell you that the Twelve would speak against this in public? This was all arranged beforehand when we had our secret understanding. You must not mind what they say in public." By this means the adversary hoped to deceive the people and lead them to destruction. But when they heard President Young declare to the people that it was not the will of God that the Saints should go into the wilderness at that time, but that it was His will that they should stay in Nauvoo, and build the Temple and get their endowments, they believed his words, for the Spirit bore testimony that they were true.

A number of persons had worked in the pineries of Wisconsin Territory, under the direction of Lyman Wight and George Miller, in cutting timber and sawing lumber for the Temple, and were, therefore, called the Pine Company. This company embraced all of the Saints who had liberty from President Young and the Twelve to leave the city. President Young told Lyman Wight and George Miller from the stand that if they took a course contrary to the counsel of the Twelve and would not act in concert with them, they would be damned and go to destruction. At the same time he said that if men would not stop striving to be great and exalted, and would persist in leading away parties from the place of gathering, thereby weakening his and his brethren's hands, they would fall and not rise again. These predictions were fulfilled to the very

letter. Lyman Wight did not act in concert with the Twelve; he led the people into difficulty and apostasy; he lost his Apostleship, and another took his place. (See page 111.) George Miller afterwards took the same course, and with the same results. He lost his office and standing in the Church, and, like Lyman Wight, died in apostasy.

At a meeting of the Twelve held in Nauvoo Aug. 24, 1844, Lyman Wight was counseled to go north, but he was determined to carry out his own views, regardless of the council of the Presidency of the Church, and go south. At the meeting mentioned, Wilford Woodruff was set apart for another mission to England, to be accompanied by Elders Dan Jones and Hiram Clark.

Sidney Rigdon outwardly appeared for a short time to submit to the Presidency of the Apostles, but he only did so until he could get his plans matured. Secretly he collected together those who sympathized with him, and all others whom he could tempt and deceive by his cunning words and false statements, and held meetings, in which he promised them wonderful things, and even went so far as to ordain some of them to be prophets, priests and kings. Of course such movements could not long remain concealed: his hypocrisy soon became public; and the whole Church learned, what the Twelve Apostles had long been aware of, that he was an apostate and an enemy to the truth. He also continued to prophesy evil against the Saints, and among other things he predicted that there would not be another stone raised upon the walls of the Temple. He said this in a

meeting, at which Wm. W. Player was present. When Brother Player, who had charge of the mason work of the Temple, went away from the meeting, he took with him Brothers Archibald and John Hill, which three brethren raised and set a stone upon the building, determined that Rigdon's prediction in this instance should fail at once. Shortly afterward the walls of the Temple were completed and under roof. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Sept. 8, 1844, Rigdon was cut off from the Church by the High Council of Nauvoo. (See *Sidney Rigdon*.) Soon afterwards he came out openly and opposed the Church, denounced its leaders and endeavored to seduce the people to commit the same folly and to practise the same wickedness of which he was guilty. To keep up a form of organization he proceeded to choose twelve men and call them apostles, and he soon left Nauvoo and retired to Pittsburgh, Penn., which he made his headquarters. He also sent his missionaries to various places where there were branches of the Church, and endeavored to persuade the Elders and members that he was the legal and heaven-appointed leader of the Church, and that the Twelve Apostles had assumed an authority which did not belong to them. For awhile they made some little stir; what his preachers lacked in authority and in spirit they made up in noise, being vigorous in setting forth their own claims and in detracting from President Young, his brethren the Apostles, and the Elders and Saints who were associated with them. Their exertions, however, had one excellent effect: they gathered out from the Church many hypocrites and evil doers, and

meeting, at which Wm. W. Taylor was present. When Brother Taylor, who had charge of the mass work of the Temple, went away from the meeting, he took with him Brothers Atchbald and John Hill, which three brethren raised and set a stone upon the building, determined that Higdon's prediction in this instance should fail at once. Shortly afterwards the walls of the Temple were completed and under roof. (See Nauvoo Temple.)

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left it more pure and healthy by their labors.

Oct. 6, 1844, and the two following days, the semi-annual conference was held at Nauvoo. Among the authorities of the Church presented on that occasion was William Marks, the President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, and thought that he (Rigdon), and not the Twelve Apostles, should preside over the Church, although he did not avow this very publicly. When Marks' name was represented at the conference, he was objected to by one of the Elders, and when the vote on his name was called, there were but two who held up their hands to sustain him. Upon the contrary vote being called, almost every hand was raised against him. This decided the matter, and William Marks was dropped from his position. A motion was then made to sustain Elder John Smith as President of the Stake, which was unanimously carried. To show how little William Marks cared for the memory of Joseph and Hyrum, the Prophet and the Patriarch, it is only necessary to state that after their deaths, he hired the Mansion House of Emma Smith, Joseph's widow, for the purpose of keeping tavern there. The dining room of that building was yet stained with the blood which had flowed from them while lying there before burial, and they were scarcely cold in their graves, when he arranged to have a ball there, the dancing to be done in the dining room. When President Young and his council heard of this, they resolved to use their influence with the people to prevent their attending the ball.

Also one of the first seven Presi-

dents of the Seventies by the name of Josiah Butterfield was dropped at this conference. He had happened to get a little money, by which he became lifted up, and his religion ceased to have the value to him it ought to have had. Elder Jedediah M. Grant was chosen to act in this office in his stead.

At this conference much valuable instruction was given, the quorums, particularly the Seventies, were filled up, a number of High Priests were selected to go to various places in the United States and to preside, and other important business was attended to. The building of the Temple, and the pushing forward of all the labors incumbent upon the Saints at Nauvoo, were urged with force and energy upon the conference. Around the Temple itself centered the hopes and the future prospect of the Saints, and they labored for and earnestly desired its completion. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The murder of the Prophet and Patriarch had not been attended with the results which the enemies of the Church had anticipated. They had hoped their deaths would be followed by the complete overthrow of the Church; but instead of this the Saints were found to be still united, being led with great wisdom by men of much influence and integrity, and the prospects were that Nauvoo would continue to prosper. Consequently the enemies of the Saints began to lay new plans for the overthrow of the Church and the city of Nauvoo. All kinds of charges were preferred against the Saints, and certain newspapers, among which the *Warsaw Signal*, the *Alton Telegraph* and the *Quincy Whig*, were filled with false stories about the

thieving, the counterfeiting and the murders of the people of Nauvoo. Great indignation was aroused in the country against the Saints by these lies, and this was what these wicked men desired; for they hoped by this means to succeed in raising a mob that would drive the Saints away from their homes. Governor Ford related an incident that came under his own observation which illustrates the character of the charges circulated about the Saints. Said he:

"On my late visit to Hancock County, I was informed by some of their (the Mormons) violent enemies, that their larcenies had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry, was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told of the Hancock County story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams County."

In his message to the legislature the governor said:

"Justice, however, requires me here to say, that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community, than in any other of the same number of inhabitants; and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great."

Vigilance was required to counteract the designs of the wicked, to thwart their plans and to preserve the Saints from the snares which were spread for their feet. President Young was on the alert; he scrutinized every movement, penetrated every plot and, with his brethren, was unceasing in his efforts to

defend and guard the Saints. From the public stand he rebuked the civil authorities of the city for their want of energy in the discharge of the duties of their offices, censured parents and guardians for not controlling their children and keeping them out of the street at night, and warned the people that if they did not rise up and put a stop to the thieving, swearing, gambling, bogus-making, the selling of spirituous liquors, bad houses and all abominations practiced in their midst by their enemies, these evils would uproot them and they would have to leave Nauvoo before they had done the things which the Lord had commanded them to do. These plain warnings had their effect. The Saints became more strict in their own conduct, in controlling their families and in opposing iniquity in every form, and good order was maintained in the city.

Early in January, 1845, a selection of Elders was made to take short missions through the State of Illinois and the Territory of Iowa, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of wicked men, who were endeavoring to poison the minds of the people so as to create a public opinion which would sustain the raising of mobs against the Saints and justify the commission of outrages upon them. Through false reports, which were circulated about the people of Nauvoo, many were led to suppose that the Saints were people of very bad habits and wicked character, and numbers had no means of knowing the truth concerning them. By sending Elders out they could correct misrepresentations, dissipate many prejudices, impart correct information concerning the motives and con-

duct of the Saints, and thus counteract the schemes of the mobbers.

About the time these Elders were called and set apart for this mission, an epistle was prepared by the Twelve Apostles, and sent forth to the Church in all the world. Hopeful and zealous themselves in their labors, the epistle breathed this spirit. It gave a cheerful description of the progress made in building the Temple, and the anticipations in which they indulged respecting certain portions of it being finished by the succeeding fall, so that they could begin to give the Saints their endowments in its rooms. Of the Saints abroad who desired to share with them the labor, as well as the glory, of building the Temple, they made several requests. All the young, middle-aged and able-bodied men who had it in their hearts to help at this work were requested to come to Nauvoo, prepared to stay during the summer, furnished with means with which to sustain themselves, and "to bring with them teams, cattle, sheep, gold, silver, brass, iron, oil, paints and tools;" and those who were within market distance of Nauvoo were requested to bring with them provisions to sustain themselves and others during their stay. The branches of the Church were asked to send all the money, cloth, clothing and raw materials for manufacturing purposes they could. The subject of tithing and its importance was referred to, and the Saints were warned not to trust or pay their money to impostors; but to responsible agents who had written authority from the Apostles, and whose names were published in the *Times and Seasons*.

The quorums of Seventies had finished a very good hall, in which to

hold their meetings; a concert hall was also built with the view to promote the culture of music. Until these were erected, the hall over the Prophet Joseph's store was the only one in Nauvoo where a congregation could be gathered. The High Priests felt that they were sufficiently numerous and important to have a hall for their use; but at their meeting on Jan. 26, 1845, President Young suggested to them that instead of erecting this building, they devote their means to the completion of the upper story of the Temple, in which they could receive their washings, anointings and endowments. This proposition they accepted by a unanimous vote.

The city charter of Nauvoo had proved a bulwark of liberty to the people. Liberal in its provisions and powers, it guaranteed to the citizens under its jurisdiction, protection from the plots of wicked and designing men. It had been granted by the legislature of the State of Illinois at a time when mobocrats did not control the State, and when it was not considered a crime to treat the Latter-day Saints with humanity and that degree of fairness to which, as American citizens, they were entitled. One of the sections of that charter provided that:

"All power is granted to the city council, to make, ordain, establish and execute all ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the State, or of the United States, or, as they may deem necessary for the peace and safety of said city."

Under this authority the city council had passed an ordinance to prevent the citizens of Nauvoo from being carried off by an illegal process. If any person thought he was illegally seized, he could, under that ordinance, claim the right of *habeas*

corpus, to try the question of identity. The Prophet Joseph had found this ordinance very useful when the attempt was made to kidnap and carry him off illegally to the State of Missouri. (See page 525.)

A great outcry was raised by the mobbers against the charter, and politicians, always ready to desert and sacrifice principle for popularity, thought they could gain favor by joining in the clamor. To gain a few votes they were ready to strip the people of Nauvoo of every right and to abandon them to the attacks and machinations of a band of wretches who were more cruel and pitiless than savages or wild beasts. Even Thomas Carlin, governor of the State of Illinois, as early as 1842, in his anxiety to pander to the mob, denounced the city council of Nauvoo for its action in passing this ordinance.

The members of the legislature, with few exceptions, were ready to carry out any plan that would injure or destroy the Latter-day Saints. All the prejudices against them which circulated through the country they fully entertained, and they were prepared to go to any lengths to give expression to them in a hostile manner. Jacob C. Davis, a member of the Senate from Hancock County, was indicted for the murder of the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum, and there is not a doubt but he was in the mob which committed the massacre at Carthage jail. But the Senate, instead of allowing the law to take its course and him to be tried for the crime of which he was accused, discharged him from arrest. No one of those engaged in the commission of that bloody and treacherous deed was to

be punished by the law. This man Davis was afterwards suffered to make bitter speeches against the people of Nauvoo and in favor of the repeal of the charter on the floor of the Senate, and was listened to with as much attention as if he were not a murderer. In fact, a member of the Senate, John Dougherty, from Union County, openly justified the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

What could be expected by the Latter-day Saints from such a legislature? In vain did the representatives from Hancock County, Hon. Jacob B. Backenstos and Hon. A. W. Babbit, plead for the rights of their constituents, the citizens of Nauvoo, and appeal to the sense of justice, equal rights, patriotism and humanity of the members; the latter were resolved to repeal the charter, and thereby deprive the people of all legal protection and expose them to the full violence of their enemies whenever they chose to attack them.

The city charter of Nauvoo was repealed Jan. 21, 1845. It had existed as a body corporate since Dec. 16, 1840, a period of about four years. When the charter was granted the principal officers of the State were as follows: Thomas Carlin, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, associate justices: These men formed the council of revision. When the State took away the chartered rights and left them entirely destitute of protection, the council of revision stood as follows: Thomas Ford, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat, Richard M. Young, James

Shields, Jesse B. Thomas and John D. Caton.

Nauvoo was the most flourishing city in the State of Illinois. Its situation upon the Mississippi was most beautiful, and there was every prospect of it becoming, if left to grow undisturbed, a place of great commercial importance. When the Saints settled there it was a very sickly place; but their industry, perseverance and union had, in a few brief years, improved it, and it was rapidly growing in importance. The people in other portions of the State, and especially in Hancock and the surrounding counties, saw the progress which was made, and they were jealous. They dreaded the growing power of the Latter-day Saints, and, prompted by the evil one, they were ready to adopt any measure to check it and to destroy the work of God. In a community nearly equally divided into two political parties, a united people like the Latter-day Saints, voting in a solid body, carried with them great weight. In those days the great political parties of the country were Democrats and Whigs. In Illinois the people were nearly equally divided in politics. In some places Democrats were elected; in others, Whigs; but at every election in Hancock County, and in every general election in the State, the Saints held the balance of power; for whichever party gained their votes carried the election. This also was a great cause of jealousy, and gave rise to bitterness of feeling. Politicians saw a growing power which they could not manage, and which, at no very distant day, would control the State; and they wished it checked. All these causes combined to prompt the legislature to

strip the city of its charter, and to reduce it to an almost chaotic condition. The property of any city, not peopled by Latter-day Saints, would have been so depreciated by being deprived of its charter, that its prosperity would have received a severe blow. But not so with Nauvoo. Its growth did not depend upon its charter, or the favor of the legislature; there were other causes which had made it a prosperous city, and they still continued to operate when its charter was wrested from it.

After the repeal of the city charter, the attorney-general of the State, Josiah Lamborn, Esq., wrote a letter to President Young, in which he alluded to the legislature and its action in terms the reverse of complimentary. Said he:

"I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by religious and political prejudices and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than for the common good. By the repeal of your charter and by refusing all amendments and modifications our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives exerted themselves to the extent of their abilities in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion."

Referring to Jacob C. Davis, he said:

"Your senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law, an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the Senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to the jail, or to the gallows, or to be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

A stronger contrast could not be given than this alluded to by Mr. Lamborn—the treatment Davis, the

murderer, received from the Senate, and the treatment a "Mormon" would have received from that body had he been in Davis' place and been accused of, or indicted for, the same crime. Every person of reflection in the State knew that a Latter-day Saint accused of crime would receive no mercy at the hands of such men as composed the legislature; they would want him hung or shot down instantly.

Mr. Lamborn wrote another paragraph in his letter which contained an excellent exhortation and a very encouraging prophecy. Said he:

"All you have to do is to be quiet, submissive to the laws and circumspect in your conduct. 'Heap coals of fire on their heads' by humility and kindness, and, my word for it, there will be a mighty reaction in the public sentiment, which will ultimately overthrow all your enemies. The 'sober second thought of the people' will always be right, and heaven will protect you against all the assaults of a corrupt and blood-thirsty rabble."

The Saints have lived to see the fulfilment of Mr. Lamborn's words.

At the April Conference, 1845, the name of the city of Nauvoo was changed by vote to the City of Joseph, in honor of the Prophet. In describing the condition of the city at that time the conference report says:

"Never have we seen the time before when the people were more willing to receive and listen to counsel than now. The High Council have only had one case in about seven weeks. Our magistrates have nothing to do. We have little or no use for charter or law. Every man is doing his best to cultivate the ground, and all are anxious to provide things honestly in the sight of all men—to honor our God, our country and its laws. Whenever a dispute or difficulty arises, a word from the proper source puts all to right, and no resort to law. May God ever save us from this snare of men, this drainer of the purse, and this fruitful source of contention and strife."

The people of God are not dependent upon charters or laws of human enactment for the peace which they enjoy. This was proved at Nauvoo at the time of which we write. Another city, thus robbed of its charter, might obtain an organization by calling the people together and electing a committee, etc.; but at Nauvoo there was a man whom all looked up to as their governor and chief, appointed by the Lord. He presided over the Twelve Apostles, and, with them, was recognized as having the right to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of the city. In company with the Twelve Apostles, President Young attended a meeting which he had appointed and ordained a number of Bishops to take charge of all the Wards of the city. They were directed to select and set apart deacons in their Wards to attend to all things needful, and especially to watch; to be, in fact, among other things, a police to maintain peace and good order throughout the city.

There were many suspicious characters who came to the city, and who presumed upon the people because the city charter was repealed. Some of these were notorious for their crimes, and it was well known that they had evil designs in visiting Nauvoo. But how could they be dealt with? There were no police who had the authority to arrest them, and for the people to have waited upon them and warned them to leave the city would have afforded new pretexts to the enemies of the Saints for getting out writs and carrying them off to prison. Yet something had to be done. It was and still is, a common practice among Yankees, when engaged in conversation, or in

making a bargain, to take out their pocket knives and commence whittling; frequently, also, when engaged in thought they indulge in the same practice, accompanying the whittling by whistling. No person could object, therefore, to the practices of whittling and whistling. Many of the boys of the city had each a large bowie knife made, and when a man came to town who was known to be a villian, and was there for evil purposes, a few of them would get together, and go to where the obnoxious person was, and having previously provided themselves with pine shingles, would commence whittling. The presence of a number of boys, each whittling a shingle with a bright, large bowie knife, was not a sight to escape the notice of a stranger, especially when these knives came uncomfortably close to his body. His first movement, of course, would be to step back and ask what this meant. The boys would make no reply, but with grave faces, keep up their whistling, as though the chief and only pursuit of their lives was whittling and whistling. The man would very likely get very indignant and threaten what he would do if they did not leave him. This would call forth no expression, except, perhaps, the whistling would be a little louder, and the knives would be pushed a little closer to him. In the meantime the crowd of boys would be all the time increasing. What could the man do? If he was armed, he could shoot; but the resolute expression of the boys' faces, and the gleaming knives which they used so dexterously in whittling, would convince him that discretion was the better part of valor; besides, who would want to fight

with a crowd of boys? If a man were to whip them, it would be no credit to him; and if they were to whip him, which would most likely be the case, what a disgrace it would be. The most we ever knew them to do was to stand for awhile and curse and threaten. When they found they could not drive off their tormentors by these means, then they would walk off in the direction of their stopping place, if they had one in town, or, if they had not, in the direction of the ferry, followed by the troop of boys vigorously whittling and whistling; but not uttering a word. To be thus made the laughing stock of the town was maddening; but there was no help for it. There was no law against boys whittling and whistling. The result would be that these people would get out of the city as quickly as possible, for they did not know how soon they might have another visit from the boys.

This unique method of disposing of bad characters, and causing them to leave the city, became universal among the boys. They keenly felt the wrong which had been inflicted upon the Saints, and they entered heartily into this plan to free the city from the presence of men whose aim was to create trouble and to drive their fathers and mothers and friends from their homes. It was fun to them, and it proved most effectual in accomplishing the desired object. The news soon spread around that improper characters had better not visit Nauvoo, as the boys had constituted themselves a committee to keep the city free from low characters, and their method of doing so was one that could not be resisted. The plan was one that was liable to

be greatly abused, and under other circumstances its adoption might have been attended with bad effects, for boys might combine to thus drive off innocent and unoffending men. But in extreme cases, extreme measures are needed; and this was the position of Nauvoo. If any evil arose from the boys whittling and whistling in Nauvoo, it is not known.

Restless and intriguing men were constantly forming and carrying out schemes to drive the Saints off from their homes. Defeated in one direction they did not relinquish their purpose; but turned their attention to other plans. A number of families of the Saints, after the expulsion from Missouri, had settled at and near Lima, Adams County, Illinois. The name of one of these settlements was Yelrome. On Feb. 14, 1845, Father Isaac Morley arrived at Nauvoo from that place with the news that five of the brethren had been arrested there on the charge of larceny, and it was reported that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. These were trumped-up charges and had been framed for the purpose of producing excitement.

To give some coloring to their accusations, these mobbers would take various articles and go at night to the premises of the people whom they wished to accuse, and conceal them there. Then they raised a hue and cry about these things having been stolen from them. Of course they would express their suspicions that the "Mormons" had stolen them, and would get out search warrants to examine their premises. "Those who hide, know how to find" is an old proverb, and they had no difficulty in finding the missing goods. It was thus that the five brethren

spoken of were arrested for larceny. This plan, and others of a similar character, were adopted to get out writs against the brethren in other places as well as Yelrome. By getting out writs of this kind against innocent men, they hoped to provoke resistance to the form of legal authority, and thus produce a collision between the Saints and the State. This subject came up for consideration in a council at Nauvoo, and it was decided that it was best for those who were hunted with writs to go on missions, so that this cause of difficulty might be evaded until the Temple could be finished.

The following letter written by George A. Smith and his father John Smith to Josiah Lamborn, Esq., attorney-general of Illinois, shows very clearly the condition of feelings which existed in Illinois respecting the murder of the Prophet Joseph. It also describes the feelings of the Saints and their quiet and patient submission to the operation of the laws as administered by those entrusted with office:

"Sir! We are this evening informed by Mr. Scott that it is your wish, as prosecuting attorney vs. the murderers of the Gens. Smith, that the 'Mormons' should hunt up the witnesses in the case, and that Mr. Murray McConnell had conveyed the idea that there was a committee in the county whose business it was to collect and arrange the testimony against the day of trial, and that said committee are supposed to be 'Mormons,' etc., etc.

"Now, sir, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; or, if you choose, the 'Mormon' fraternity, we beg leave to state to you, what has been often reiterated by us, and which is a well known fact, both to our people and the State; viz., that the difficulty causing the pending trials is not between the 'Mormons' and the anti-Mormons, nor between the 'Mormons' and the murderers; but it is between the State and the prisoners, or offenders.

"To show our loyalty to the institutions of our country and preserve peace in the country, as a people, we pledged ourselves to abide the operations of the law as directed by the proper authorities of the commonwealth; and that we would abide the decisions of the court, not taking vengeance into our own hands, (as was then feared by some,) or commencing prosecutions, to which we have strictly adhered, and intend still to adhere, that our pledge may be honorably redeemed in the sight of all men, although we have been strongly solicited to enter the field of prosecution, and that, too, by the State or her agents; for instance, when Mr. McConnell was engaged in preparation for the prosecution, he came to Nauvoo and strongly solicited the 'Mormons' to come out as complainants and assist in procuring witnesses etc.; but we replied that we had had nothing to do with the affair and wanted nothing to do with it; and for us to enlist in attempting to bring the murderers to justice, no matter how legal in our own movements, it would be construed into a persecution, or a desire to pick a quarrel on our part, which we were and still are determined to avoid, even every appearance of evil, and cut off every occasion of our enemies, or of those who are ready to seize upon any pretext to make us trouble.

"We are decidedly for peace, and we ever have been, and as the murders were committed while the murdered were in the immediate charge of the State, all we ask is that the State will prosecute the case to final judgment and redeem her pledge, as we have ours; or if she choose to abandon the prosecution we shall submit peaceably; although, for public good, we would prefer that justice should take place.

"We are unacquainted with the statutes which suffer indicted murderers to roam at large month after month without arrest; or, after delivery or surrender, to run at pleasure before trial, and we know not what other similar laws we might come in contact with, and be liable to break to our own endangering or disadvantage should we attempt to have anything to do with the case in question.

"It is reported to us, true or false we know not, that the sheriff of Hancock County and his deputies have been forbidden by the court to act in the pending trials; and that the jurors have been discharged without empanelling. If this be true we are unacquainted with the statutes in the case and have nothing to say.

"When Mr. McConnell was here last fall,

at his earnest solicitation, we collected all the information in our possession and presented the same to him, supposing he would prosecute the case to final judgment. He took minutes at the time and probably has them now if he has not handed them over, of which you must be acquainted, better than we, and of which we did not preserve minutes; we know of no new information since that period.

"We were happy to hear that the trials had been committed to your able charge, and anticipated that you would have made us a visit before the sitting of the court; and we still anticipate that after court you will make us a visit that you may have the pleasure of a more general acquaintance among our citizens; and we feel confident that such a visit would be highly appreciated by our friend, General Young, with whom we understand you are acquainted.

"We shall be ever ready in favoring the ends of right so far as we can do it, and not give any occasion of excitement which would be detrimental to public peace. We are sir, Most Respectfully, Your Servants,
GEORGE A. SMITH,
JOHN SMITH."

May 19, 1845, the trials of some of the murderers of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, commenced at Carthage, Hon. Richard M. Young, of Quincy, on the bench. The men indicted by the grand jury for these murders were: Col. Levi Williams, a Baptist preacher, Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, Jacob C. Davis, State senator, Mark Aldrich and Wm. N. Grover. They were held to bail, with themselves as sureties, in the sum of \$1,000 each, to make their appearance in the court each day of the term. To secure a suitable jury to answer their purpose, the accused had recourse to an extraordinary proceeding. They made two affidavits asking for the array of jurors to be quashed on the ground that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies, in impaneling the jury had the design to hurt and prejudice the trial and thus endanger

the lives of the accused. The lawyers on both sides argued the question; but the judge ruled that the panel should be quashed, and that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies be discharged and elisors be appointed for the purpose of choosing another jury. Two men were appointed by the court as elisors, and they selected the jurors. Out of the 96 men who were summoned to act in this capacity 12 were found who were satisfactory to the defense.

The guilt of the prisoners was clearly shown to the court and bystanders by the prosecuting attorney, but despite the evidence brought against them they were "honorably acquitted" by the jury, May 30, 1845. This result had been anticipated by the Saints. A vote of the city council had been taken, in the previous month of July, to the effect that when the law failed to atone for the blood of the Prophet and Patriarch, they would refer the case to God for a righteous judgment. One of the lawyers for the accused, Calvin A. Warren, stated in his remarks, that, "if the prisoners were guilty of murder, then he himself was guilty. He alleged that it was the public opinion that the Smiths ought to be killed, and public opinion made the laws; consequently it was not murder to kill them!"

During these days President Young and others of the Apostles had to conceal themselves to avoid being arrested. Constables and other officers from Carthage frequently came to Nauvoo with writs, but they were not successful in serving them. The charges on which these writs were issued were groundless; the Twelve

Apostles were innocent of the wrongs laid to their charge; but the design in issuing legal process against them was to harass and annoy them, to get them into the power of the mob, that they might be killed as Joseph and Hyrum had been.

In the morning of May 24, 1845, President Young and his fellow Apostles came forward from their hiding places to lay the capstone of the Temple. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

In a letter written by Governor Ford to President Young, under date of April 8th, 1845, he stated that the impression on the public mind everywhere was that the leaders of the Latter-day Saints were impostors and rogues, and that the others were dupes and fools. This was the reason he assigned for their considering and treating the Saints as enemies and outcasts, as men to be cherished and trusted in nothing, because, in their estimation, some of them were deluded and others designing in matters of religion. Said he:

"If you can get off by yourselves, you may enjoy peace; but surrounded by such neighbors I confess that I do not foresee the time when you will be permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means; but this we know that if conquered from Mexico, the country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there, take possession of

and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations? You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this, your design ought not to be known, or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States' territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with."

This course was suggested by others as well as Governor Ford, and leading men in the nation thought it the only possible solution of what they called the "Mormon question." They were willing to promise the Saints any amount of land belonging to Mexico, and some were even in favor of letting them have a portion of Oregon to settle upon. But the Saints did not accept Governor Ford's suggestion in establishing an independent government of their own. They loved their country, its institutions, its constitution and laws; and though they had suffered persecution and violence, their leaders had been killed, and they had been driven from their homes by mobs, they were still willing to contend for their rights in the government and not outside of it; and therefore made no attempts to set up an independent government when they settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley.

At this crisis the Twelve Apostles called on Elders Orson Spencer and Samuel Brannan to visit Gov. Ford, which they did, and were received politely. The governor introduced them to ex-Governor Reynolds, and they had a lengthy interview with the governors, who chatted freely in relation to the prejudice entertained by the people through the State against the Latter-day Saints. The governors were requested to use

their influence officially and personally to allay prejudice. They urged the necessity of ceasing to gather in one place, and opposed Elder Spencer's proposition to buy out the anti-Mormons in Hancock County. They said that it was the political influence of the Saints which exasperated the people against them. Ex-Governor Reynolds said he had tried, in public speaking, to lessen the supposed faults of the Saints, but the people had rudely resisted him and accused him of being a "Mormon." Governor Ford said that he could not trust the best militia in the State to defend the "Mormons;" that they would go over to the side of the mob in the event of a collision; he could not even trust General Hardin. He further stated that the conduct of Governor Boggs, of Missouri, towards Joseph Smith was unlawful and barbarous; and pledged himself never to re-enact the drivings and expulsions experienced by the Saints at the hands of the State of Missouri. He also renewed a former pledge that he would never demand the leaders of the Church on criminal writs and expose them to assassination as Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been; he stated, however, that his official influence was only *nominal*.

Elder Spencer informed Governor Ford that it was the intention of the Saints, so soon as the Temple was finished, to colonize distant parts of the country, and that they were ready to sell their property as soon as practicable and commence removals, if their neighbors would purchase their property.

The report which Elder Spencer made to his brethren was indeed a sorrowful one. It contained the testimony of two governors that relig-

ious freedom—so far as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was concerned—was at an end in Illinois.

President Brigham Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles met in council and deliberated upon the trying position in which the Saints in Hancock County were placed. The constitution and laws of Illinois, through the lack of faithful ex-executors, being powerless for their protection, they deemed it wisdom to write as follows to the President of the United States and to the governor of every State in the Union except Missouri:

“NAUVOO, April 24, 1845.

“His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States:

“Honorable Sir.—Suffer us, sir, in behalf of a disfranchised and long-afflicted people to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration, in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

“It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States over which you have the honor to preside, while a few only claim the privilege of peaceable and lawful emigrants designing to make the Union our permanent residence.

“We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of this State, that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote, until the blood of our best men has been shed, both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

“You are doubtless somewhat familiar with the history of our extermination from the State of Missouri, wherein scores of our brethren were massacred; hundreds died through want and sickness occasioned by the unparalleled sufferings, some millions of our property were destroyed, and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives to the then hospitable and peaceable shores of Illinois; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provi-

sion private rights have become invested, and the largest city in the State has grown up, numbering about twenty thousand inhabitants.

“But, sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than those of Missouri. She has already used the military of the State with the Executive at their head to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salvo for such unearthly perfidy and guilt she told us through her highest executive officers, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, where the citizens of a sovereign State pounced upon two defenceless servants of God—our Prophet and our Patriarch—before the senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the sheriff of Hancock County and gave him an honorable seat in her hall of legislation, and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith are suffered to roam at large watching for further prey.

“To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed all those chartered rights by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise (for we have reason to expect it both ways), we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty; and if we continued passive and non-resistant we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it.

“And here, sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith, during his short life, was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times charged with criminal offences, but was acquitted every time by his country, his enemies, or rather his religious opponents, almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that as a people we are law-abiding, peaceable, and without crime, and we challenge the world to prove the contrary; and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stripped of every source of arraigning marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

“With these facts before you, sir, will you

write to us without delay as a father and friend, and advise us what to do. We are members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, yea some of us, have fought and bled for our country, and we love her constitution dearly.

"In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? or will you in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois? or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the northwestern Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

"And now, honored sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you, with deep solemnity, we would importune with you as a father, a friend, a patriot and the head of a mighty nation; by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this Republic, by the blood of the martyrs which have been shed in our midst, by the wallings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable, and that too, for aught we know, for the last time, that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy, and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or in some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

"We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people and of many ready to perish shall come upon you.

"We are, sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
WILLARD RICHARDS,
ORSON SPENCER,
ORSON PRATT,
W. W. PHELPS,
A. W. BABBITT,
J. M. BEERNHISEL.

"Committee, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois.

"P. S. As many of our communications, post-marked at Nauvoo, have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger."

The others to the governors were the same as the above with slight requisite alterations.

President Young received a respectful answer from Governor Thomas S. Drew in reply to the communication to him as governor of Arkansas, alleging his inability to protect the Saints in the State of Arkansas, and suggesting the propriety of the "Mormons" settling Oregon, California, Nebraska, or some other country where they would be out of the reach of their persecutors. He was the only governor in the United States who deigned to reply to the appeal of the committee in behalf of the Church.

Governor Drew referred the Saints to the patriarchal proposition of Abraham to Lot, about separating and choosing the portion of the land which suited him, and concluded with the following paragraph:

"Should the Latter-day Saints migrate to Oregon, they will carry with them the good will of philanthropists and the blessings of every friend of humanity. If they are wrong, their wrongs will be abated with many degrees of allowance; and if right, migration will afford an opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world."

The following appeared in the *New York Sun*:

"The spiritual concerns of the Mormons

are governed by a council of twelve, composed of the following persons: Brigham Young—The Lion of the Lord. Heber C. Kimball—The Herald of Grace. Parley P. Pratt—The Archer of Paradise. Orson Hyde—The Olive Branch of Israel. Willard Richards—The Keeper of the Rolls. John Taylor—The Champion of Right. Wm. Smith—The Patriarchal Jacob's Staff. Wilford Woodruff—The Banner of the Gospel. George A. Smith—The Entablature of Truth. Orson Pratt—The Guage of Philosophy. John E. Page—The Sun-dial. Lyman Wight—The Wild Ram of the Mountains. The only property owned in common is the Temple. The Mormons are industrious, good farmers, raise wheat plentifully, and are about to engage in manufactures. The whole community may be considered in their peculiar tenets singular and remarkable, and in after ages their Temple, like the ruins of Palenque, may strike the beholder with wonder, and history may be unable to explain what race worshipped there."

In August, 1845, President Young met with his brethren in council, when it was decided that three thousand able-bodied men should be selected to prepare themselves to start in the spring for Upper California, taking their families with them.

Early in the month of September commenced the memorable house-burning in Hancock County. The successful prosecution of the building of the Temple and the rapid strides made in erecting the Nauvoo House, seemed to tempt the cupidity of the neighbors of the Saints. The anti-Mormons realizing also that the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum were acquitted, that the city charter of Nauvoo was repealed, and the Saints, in a manner, placed outside the protection of the law, did not hesitate to commit any outrage. At Lima and Yelrome they set fire to buildings and stacks of grain, and fired upon Brother Clark Hulet and the children of Brother Durfee.

When the news of the proceedings reached Nauvoo, the Apostles sent

word to those places, advising the people to offer their property for sale to the mob, and remove the women and children to Nauvoo as quickly as possible; the men were advised to remain quietly and watch the movements of the mob. In a letter to the President of the Yelrome Branch, President Young stated that "the object of our enemies is to get opposition enough to raise popular excitement, but we think it best to let them burn up our houses, while we take care of our families and grain."

In accordance with his counsel the citizens of Yelrome proposed to the mob to sell them their landed property and improvements, reserving only the crops on which they were dependent for their bread, and take in payment cattle, wagons and such things as they could use in removing their families. But still the persecutions continued, with the most diabolical persistency. Volunteers were called for in Nauvoo to go with their teams and assist in bringing in the families of the Saints from the isolated settlements where the mobbing was most violent, to that place, in response to which 135 teams were sent forthwith.

During this time J. B. Backenstos, Esq., sheriff of the county, who on more than one occasion had proved himself a friend of the Saints, and disposed to maintain the peace, was doing all he could to quell the inclination to mob, which had become so prevalent. He even went to Warsaw and tried to raise a *posse* to stop the burning, but was unable to get a single man to assist him.

About this time Bishop George Miller was arrested at Carthage on a charge of treason. An officer, with

writs against President Young and the Twelve also, visited Nauvoo. The charges were for aiding and abetting Joseph Smith in treasonable designs against the State, for being officers in the Nauvoo Legion, for building an arsenal, for keeping cannon in times of peace, for holding a private council in Nauvoo and for holding correspondence with the Indians. He, however, left without making any arrest.

Sheriff Backenstos wrote to President Young from Carthage Sept. 15, 1845, advising him to organize 2,000 well armed men, and hold them in readiness for immediate service when he might call upon them; and stated that he could not reasonably expect support from those citizens called "Jack-Mormons." The term "Jack-Mormons" was in those days applied to persons who did not belong to the Church, but were friendly to its members.

The course of President Young had been to suppress excitement among the people, that they might not be led to commit acts of aggression, for he wished the world at large to see who the real aggressors were. He was willing, for the sake of preserving peace, and as a means of gaining security and order for the time being, to agree with the mob to leave the State in the spring. At the same time the Saints had observed the law, magnified the Constitution and done more towards developing the resources of the State than any or all the rest of its inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the perilous condition of the Saints and the continued depredations of their enemies in the adjoining districts, in Nauvoo the people continued their labors

upon the Temple, determined to rear it at all hazards.

The persecutions of the mob were not confined to the members of the Church; they were also felt by those who were favorable to them, and who wished them to have their rights. Sheriff Backenstos rode into Nauvoo on the 16th of September, in great haste and appearing much excited. On the previous day he had been driven by the mob from his home in Carthage; from which place he had gone to Warsaw, and sought refuge for the night. There he learned that the mobbers were very much enraged at him for trying to stop the burning of property, and that they were determined to take his life if possible, and, in fact, that they had planned to waylay and kill him on his way to Nauvoo. On starting the next morning, he got a man to accompany him a portion of the way. Soon after they parted company, the sheriff saw a party of the mob pursuing him on horseback, and though he drove his horse as fast as he could, he riding in a buggy, they gained upon him in the chase, and one of them who rode the swiftest horse would likely have overtaken him had his horse not fallen and thrown him. The mob now took a cut-off to intercept him, and gained on him so rapidly that they were within two hundred yards of the sheriff when he came up with O. P. Rockwell and John Redden, who were engaged in removing sick families into Nauvoo from the burnt district. They, seeing the sheriff coming down the hill towards them at such a frightful speed, called to him and asked what was the matter. He told them he was pursued by the mob, and commanded them in the name of the

State, to protect him. They replied that they would do so, as they were well armed. The sheriff, encouraged by this, turned to the approaching mob and commanded them to stop, but as they paid no attention to the order, and continued to advance, apparently reckless and blood-thirsty, and raising their guns to fire at him, he ordered O. P. Rockwell to fire. Aiming at the clasp of the belt on the foremost man, the latter fired, and simultaneously with the report of the gun the man fell from his horse. His comrades then stopped and cared for him, leaving the sheriff to proceed on his way.

It was very evident that Rockwell had saved the life of the sheriff, as there was no doubt that the blood-thirsty mobbers who followed him were determined to kill him. Had he refused to comply with the demand of the sheriff for protection, he would, to say the least, have proved himself an arrant coward. It was soon afterwards ascertained at Nauvoo that the man whom Rockwell had thus shot and killed was named Franklin A. Worrell, one of the most bitter and implacable enemies to the Saints in the country. This same Worrell was officer of the guard at Carthage jail when the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, were murdered, and afterwards a witness when the case of their murder was under examination. He was asked at that time, among other questions, whether the fire-arms of the guard under his charge at the jail were loaded with blank cartridges only, or bullets. He refused to answer the question, and assigned, as a reason, that he could not do so without criminating himself; thus proving by his own confession that if not actually

engaged in the murder he was indirectly a party to it.

The suffering of the Saints during the persecutions and troubles through which they were now passing was extreme. Many of those who had their homes destroyed and were thus rendered destitute of nearly all the comforts and many of the necessities of life were sick, and unable to offer any resistance had they been disposed to. Neither were the more strong and healthy generally in a condition to make a very able defense against the attacks of such a merciless mob. Many of them were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, never having been brought into action before and their fire-arms were few and of an inferior character.

Sheriff Backenstos, after reaching Nauvoo, immediately issued his second proclamation to the citizens of Hancock and surrounding counties, in which he recounted the nefarious and bloody acts of the mob throughout Hancock County, detailed his narrow escape from the infuriated men who had followed him, commanded the mobbers and rioters to disperse and cease their violence, and ordered all able-bodied men throughout the county to arm themselves in the best possible manner and defend their lives and property. As a postscript to this proclamation, he added:

"It is proper to state that the Mormon community have acted with more than ordinary forbearance—remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance, when their dwellings, other buildings, and stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence, and they have forbore, until forbearance is no longer a virtue.

"The notorious Colonel Levi Williams, who is at the head of the mob, has ordered out the militia of this brigade, comprising Hancock, McDonough and Schuyler Coun-

ties; but it is to be hoped that no good citizen will turn out and aid him or others in the overthrow of the laws of our country, and it is certain that no good citizen will cross the Mississippi River with a design to aid the rioters."

The First Presidency also urged upon the people the necessity of being vigilant, that the mob might not come upon them unawares, and of moving their women and children and substance into Nauvoo as quickly as possible, if unable to protect themselves. In Nauvoo a committee of five men were appointed to wait upon the mob, and petition for peace, promising them if they would retire and cease their mobbings, lawless litigations and other persecutions, and allow the Saints the necessary time and peace to prepare to remove, that they would leave the State in the spring. A proclamation was then issued, signed by the Apostles and a number of the leading Elders of the Church, and addressed to Colonel Levi Williams, and the mobbing party of which he was the supposed leader, announcing the names of the men appointed as a committee from Nauvoo, and making known their proposition to leave the State, and asking for an answer to be returned in writing or by the committee who should wait on them. Two days after this was sent, A. B. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, arrived in Nauvoo from Warsaw, and stated that his purpose was to save the destruction of property and individual suffering that evidently must occur unless conciliatory measures were adopted. He brought with him the names of Levi Williams and six others appointed as a committee by the anti-Mormons of Warsaw and vicinity to negotiate for peace. It seemed that many who had read the

proposition to compromise addressed to the mob were satisfied with the proposals therein made, while many others were equally embittered and opposed to its stipulations, on account, as they claimed, of being addressed as a mob. They thought to accede to this would be to virtually acknowledge that they were among those who had been engaged in burning and destroying property.

On the evening of the 16th, Sheriff Backenstos, feeling anxious for the safety of his family and others at Carthage, raised an armed force and proceeded to that place to rescue them from the power of those threatening. On this point we quote his own language:

"On entering the town we were fired upon by some of the mobbers, who instantly fled. My heart sickens when I think of the awfully distressed state in which I found my family, in the hands of a gang of black-hearted villians, guilty of all the crimes known to our laws. * * * The families which I designed to rescue had all fled, with the exception of Mrs. Deming, the widow of the late General Deming, who was of the opinion that she might escape their vengeance, inasmuch as the recent death of her husband it was thought would have appeased their wrath against that family.

"After we had entered the town, persons were seen running about the streets with firebrands. Anticipating their intention of firing their own buildings in order to charge the same upon the *posse comitatus* under my command, we immediately took steps to prevent this, by threatening to put to the sword all those engaged in firing the place."

Almost every hour brought news to Nauvoo of new and cruel depredations by the lawless and bloodthirsty mob in the suffering districts. The postmasters of Warsaw and Carthage and the treasurer and assessor of Hancock County, living at Carthage, were driven from their homes by force of arms, the first having but half a minute's time allowed him to

prepare to leave. These men were not members of the Church, but the rioters were displeased with them because they were opposed to the mobocratic spirit. They were men of good character, and had, up to the time the persecutions commenced, been generally respected by all classes. A spirit of desperation and frenzy seemed to have taken possession of a great portion of the people known as anti-Mormons, and they would scarcely hesitate at committing any act of outrage to wreak vengeance on the Latter-day Saints and effect their wicked ends. That the deeds they were committing were unlawful, they well knew, and hence they tried to elude detection in most instances. Generally, when engaged in house-burning, they kept horses stationed close at hand, on which they could make their escape if necessary.

When Sheriff Backenstos had seen his family safely started for Nauvoo, he and his small force of men proceeded towards Warsaw, but learning on the road that the mob were engaged in burning houses at a place known as Bear Creek, they directed their course towards where they saw the smoke arising. On nearing the scene of burning, the sheriff's party divided, and attempted to surround the men engaged in the work of destruction, but in doing so they were discovered by the latter, who made off as fast as their horses could carry them. The sheriff gave his men orders to pursue and arrest them if possible, and if they would not submit to arrest, to fire upon them. His orders were obeyed, and the result was, two of the fleeing party were killed and others thought to be wounded.

This was, as stated in a proclamation by the sheriff of the county, the first effort at open resistance to mob violence in that section. It now became apparent that a united effort must be made by the peaceable citizens at quelling those who seemed so determined on the destruction of life and property. The mob were reported in large bodies in different parts, and very threatening.

The sheriff raised a company of 200 men and again set out for the southwestern part of the county, which had up to this time suffered most heavily from mob violence. When out about six miles from Nauvoo he sent back to that place for a heavy reinforcement of men and two cannons, and stated that he wished to attack the mob in their stronghold, and prevent their crossing the river by stationing men at the crossings. President Young immediately wrote to him, remonstrating against the course he was about to pursue, and advised him not to attempt to prevent them from crossing the river, nor hem them in there, and compel them to fight, as it would doubtless result in much bloodshed, but instead, to allow them to cross the river to Missouri if they wished to, and then, by placing men at the passes of the river, prevent their return.

Several small parties were sent from Nauvoo to different parts of the county to protect isolated places, and in the meantime an answer from the sheriff was awaited. All public work in Nauvoo was now suspended, except the building of the Temple, which President Young was determined should not cease, even though, as he stated, the workmen should find it necessary to carry the sword

in one hand while they worked with the other. It had been decided that a cannon should be fired in Nauvoo, as a signal for the assembling of the citizens in case of emergency, and all possible preparations were made by the people for the protection of themselves and their friends in the surrounding districts. President Young instructed them in their duties, and urged them not to molest the property of the mobbers, in case they should run away and leave their homes.

At the time when the call for reinforcements was received from the sheriff, the signal gun was fired and the citizens of Nauvoo assembled on the square, carrying such fire-arms as they happened to have in their possession, and expecting to have to march and meet the enemy. The men were reduced in strength by sickness and the hardships they had undergone, and were not in a fit condition for such service; so it was decided that they should remain where they were until further orders were received.

The next news from the sheriff was to the effect that he had concluded to act upon the advice of President Young, and save the shedding of blood if possible. He had learned that about eight hundred of the mob had fortified themselves in the vicinity of Warsaw, near the Mississippi River, who were well armed and had one piece of artillery. He now wanted 400 armed men to be sent out in wagons, to assist him. In his letter to President Young he asked him to pray that the blessings of Heaven might rest upon him and his men in their campaign, that their enemies might not fall upon them in ambuscade. Mr. Backen-

stos was not a member of the Church, but it was evident from this that he was not without faith in President Young's favor with the Lord.

The 400 men called for were sent; the sheriff marched a part of them to Carthage and ordered them to surround the town, that he might arrest a number of men against whom he had writs, for being engaged in the house-burning. On searching the town, he found that all for whom he held writs had fled except one. The sheriff then addressed a communication to the mob assembled in the southwestern portion of the county, commanded by Colonel Levi Williams, in which he reminded them of the crimes they had committed; called upon them to cease their mobbing and burning and deliver themselves up into his hands, to be dealt with according to law. He also demanded of them the public arms in their possession, and stated that he would await a reply, which, if they failed to send, their silence would be considered as a refusal, and they must suffer the consequences.

This determined course taken by Sheriff Backenstos had the effect of producing fear among the mob. Not only those of Carthage for whom he held writs, but also many guilty ones in other places fled from the county and State with all possible haste.

While awaiting a reply to his communication to the assembled mob, the sheriff directed his men at Carthage to collect from the citizens of that place all arms, ammunition, etc., belonging to the State, in their possession. While they were thus engaged an incident occurred, which we relate, as it shows that the sheriff was a man of justice and fine feelings. Two of the men collecting the

arms either misunderstood or wilfully acted in opposition to his order, by taking possession of three guns, the private property of individuals; one man also quarreled with a lady and used ungentlemanly language in her presence. For their conduct, the sheriff ordered these men under arrest, placed a guard over them and sent them home in disgrace, while the guns were returned to their owners.

Sept. 20, 1845, four citizens of Macomb, the capital of McDonough County, Illinois, arrived at Nauvoo as a committee from their city to ascertain whether the Latter-day Saints still intended to leave the State in the spring, according to their former proposition to the mob under command of Levi Williams. They were replied to by the Apostles, who met in council, to the effect that the Saints were under no obligation to leave, according to the stipulations of that proposition, as the terms of it were not acceded to by the mobbing party; still, they would not hesitate to leave, as proposed, if the people of the surrounding counties would by their influence assist them in disposing of their property, and staying the unwarranted and vexatious lawsuits which were continually being brought against them. If the Saints could have the assurance of peace for a short time, they would devote their time to preparing to remove, and they would not only leave the State, but remove so far away that their peculiar religious tenets need not furnish the people of Illinois any pretext for further complaint. They stated also that they were willing to buy out the citizens who were opposed to them, if that would suit them, and the Saints and

their friends could be left in full and peaceable possession of the county. A. W. Babbit, Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell were then appointed a committee to return home with those from Macomb and confer with the citizens of that place in regard to the terms proposed.

After waiting from the 18th to the 20th for a reply from the assembled mob commanded by Levi Williams, the sheriff and a part of his force started for the place where they were encamped, determined to arrest or rout them. They had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the whole force of the mob had fled and crossed the Mississippi to Missouri.

Since the party engaged in burning property at Bear Creek were fired upon, no cases of house-burning had occurred; yet it was evident that the mob were not content with what they had done, for they were reported in different parts, trying to rally their forces to commit further outrages.

Sept. 23rd, 15 of the leading Elders of the Church were summoned to appear at Carthage for trial, on the charge of treason. The next day they proceeded to Carthage, accompanied by President Young and others. The witness against them, on whose testimony the warrant was issued, was a Dr. Backman, who, on being sworn in court, stated that he was not acquainted with the prisoners, and that he, personally, knew nothing against them; but that he made affidavit on the strength of the rumors in circulation, and that he believed them guilty. It was clearly evident that there was no foundation for the charge, except in rumor, and the prisoners were discharged. This

is a fair sample of the charges for arrest and trial by which the Saints were being continually harassed. A person, as in this case, totally unacquainted with the men against whom he made oath, except by false rumors, believed that they were guilty of treason, and on his making affidavit to this effect, 15 of them must be arrested and appear for trial.

The committee sent to Macomb to attend the meeting of the citizens of that place, returned without accomplishing much. On their arrival there, they found the people excited and hostile in the extreme. They were threatened with violence until it was not considered prudent for them to venture out of doors. Such was the feeling of animosity, towards, not only the Saints, but also those who were thought to favor them; for two of the members of this committee—Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell—were not at that time connected with the Church. They were unable to confer with the people in mass meeting, but watched from an upper window the movements and heard the threats of the rabble below. They were finally advised by a committee that their only safety depended on their immediate departure from the town. They accordingly returned without accomplishing the object for which they were sent.

The people of the State were now fairly aroused to a sense of what was transpiring in Hancock County and the surrounding districts. The citizens of Quincy, the county seat of Adams County, who had on a previous occasion shown much friendship for the Saints, held a public meeting to consider what should be done, and appointed delegates to

wait upon the citizens of Nauvoo and learn the facts in relation to their proposition to leave the State. The delegates from Quincy arrived at Nauvoo on the 24th. A council was called, composed of the leading men of the city, and propositions were submitted similar to those given the committee from Macomb. The committee from Quincy acknowledged that the propositions, if carried out in full faith, ought to be satisfactory to all concerned. Yet they thought, all things considered, that something more unconditional would have to be offered by the Saints before peace could be secured for them.

The committee from Quincy, after receiving the propositions in writing, returned home, promising to present them to the citizens of Quincy, who would assemble in mass meeting for their consideration.

Sept. 25, 1845, Sheriff Backenstos issued his fifth proclamation, in which he detailed many of the cruel and atrocious acts of the mob, and stated that though they had not returned to commit further outrage in the county, they were "brawling about the adjoining counties, the State of Missouri and Iowa Territory, 'circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid in order to recommence burning and mobbing.'" He also stated that many complaints had been made to him by "Mormons" and anti-Mormons of cattle and other property having been stolen from them. He had exerted himself to ferret out the truth in regard to these cases, and though rumors were abundant that the Saints were guilty of these deeds, he had invariably found that they were the

sufferers and not the depredators. Of this he said:

"Every one of those persons who report property stolen, who are not Mormons, are by no means regarded as enemies by them; but on the other hand, they have all denounced this mobbing and burning as most infamous. It is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that men who will burn houses, barns, grain and other property, and will drive and exterminate the United States postmasters and other officers from their offices and homes with force of arms, under the penalty of death, are none too good to steal cattle, horses and sheep too. Men who are guilty of such damnable outrages, are hardened against all the tender feelings of human beings; the savages would shrink with horror at such base and cowardly acts as are characteristic of this mob faction. Again, why is it that the stealing of cattle and horses is confined in nearly every instance to those who are opposed to the mobocrats? If the Mormons are guilty of these depredations complained of, is it not a remarkable circumstance that not a single hoof of all the cattle and horses that are alleged to have been stolen, were taken from any of those engaged in the mobbing; in every case, so far as I can learn, they were taken from persons opposed to this wicked proceeding of the mob party."

The sheriff also denounced Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, as a villain of the worst dye, and the statements of proceedings in the county published by him in the *Signal* as infamous falsehoods. This same Sharp was without doubt one of the worst enemies the Saints had in those days. All the time during their troubles the columns of the *Signal* were replete with the most glaring falsehoods concerning the acts of the Saints, and the editor through this medium did much towards urging on the mobbers to commit their deeds of crime. Many of the statements made by him as also many of the rumors in circulation against the Saints gained credence even with many honest persons who were not personally acquainted with the facts. In fact, the popular prejudice against

the Saints was so strong that no amount of argument was required to convince thousands of such persons that the "Mormons" were guilty of every imaginable crime.

Families were now constantly arriving in Nauvoo from La Harpe and other isolated places for protection, and in Nauvoo arrangements were being made for emigrating. Companies were being organized and committees appointed for deciding on what outfit would be required by those who should sally forth for the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

Governor Ford ordered that all bodies of troops in the State should be discharged except a small force to be commanded by General J. J. Hardin; and accordingly, on Sept. 28th the small force of militia left at Carthage by the sheriff to maintain peace were ordered home.

On the 30th, General Hardin with 400 troops, arrived in Nauvoo and awaited on the public square an interview with President Young, the Twelve Apostles and leading men of the city. Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Sheriff Backenstos, who also came with General Hardin, waited on President Young and informed him that it was hard to convince the public that the "Mormons" were not really the persons who had been doing the house-burning in Hancock County, and that on this point they wished him to talk to General Hardin. He accordingly visited the general, who was surrounded by his troops and staff officers on the square. General Hardin read his orders from Governor Ford, which were to the effect that he was to keep peace in Hancock County, even if it was necessary to place it under martial law to do so. He also

stated that he wished to search for the dead bodies of two men who were last seen in Nauvoo, and who were supposed to have been murdered there. President Young assured him that he was welcome to search for dead bodies or anything else if he chose to. The general then inquired if he knew anything concerning them, or of any crimes having been committed in Nauvoo. President Young replied that he knew of nothing of the kind, but that he had reliable information that some hundreds of houses had been burned and other property destroyed in the southern part of the county, and that if he would go there he would probably find the perpetrators. He tendered the general the hospitality of the city and invited him to stay at his house. The general, however, did not accept the invitation, but answered that he always stayed in camp.

The Temple, the Masonic Hall, the Nauvoo House and the stables of the Mansion House were then searched by General Hardin and his troops, for the ostensible purpose of finding the dead bodies spoken of. They found in the Masonic Hall, not dead bodies, but—about forty barrels of wild grape wine, which they fondly lingered about and devoted considerable attention to. While searching the stables of the Mansion House, they found where a quantity of blood had been spilled, and immediately summoned the landlord and demanded an explanation. He readily explained that a sick horse had been bled there, and showed them the horse. The general and Judge Douglas then thrust their swords into the manure, as if they expected to find dead bodies buried

there. A. W. Babbit, who stood by at the time, asked ironically if they thought the people of Nauvoo were so foolish as to bury dead bodies in the manure, when they could so easily throw them into the Mississippi River, which was but a few rods distant.

After the general and his troops had given up the search, they marched out and encamped on the south side of the city. Shortly afterwards a citizen named Caleb Baldwin was arrested and taken to the camp to be questioned in regard to crimes committed. Most of the questions asked him seemed to indicate that the officers were very anxious to learn where the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were buried. This would go to prove, as was doubtless the case, that one object of their visit to Nauvoo was to really find out the place of their burial.

Oct. 1, 1845, General J. J. Hardin, Judge Stephen A. Douglas and J. A. McDougal, attorney-general for the State, met in council with the leading men of Nauvoo. They conversed freely on the subject of the proposed removal, and Vancouver's Island and Oregon were suggested by the visitors as suitable places for the Saints to remove to. These officials afterwards requested by letter that the propositions be made out in writing that they might lay them before the governor and people of the State. In reply the council in Nauvoo sent them a copy of the propositions submitted to the committee from Quincy, and added, that preparations were being made to remove previous to the late disturbances, and that companies had been organized for that purpose; but they were hindered in their opera-

tions by the mobbing; that they were determined to go to some place so far distant that they should neither infringe nor be infringed upon; they would not sacrifice their property, nor give it away, nor suffer it to be illegally wrested from them, though they should not find purchasers. In conclusion they said: "If all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—we will leave them."

General Hardin received a communication from Governor Ford, in which he said:

"I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the State to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration.

"The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the State will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able.

"I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will coun-

sel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the State. It is acknowledged by me that the State has no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that they should do so voluntarily than to live in a state of continual war?"

General J. J. Hardin, under date of Oct. 1, 1845, wrote to President Young, requesting him to have a list made out in schedule form of the property of different kinds and its valuation, belonging to the Saints, which had been destroyed by the mob. A communication was also received by the council in Nauvoo from J. J. Hardin, Stephen A. Douglas, W. B. Warren and J. A. McDougal, stating that a meeting had been held in the State by the delegates from nine counties, the day previous, for the purpose of considering the case of the Latter-day Saints. At this meeting, they had understood, the proposition of the Saints to remove in the spring had been accepted. They stated that they were convinced that affairs had reached such a crisis that it was impossible for them to remain in the country. They confidently hoped and expected that the whole community would remove; but should they fail to do so, they added, "We are satisfied, however much we may deprecate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal, which will result in most disastrous consequences to yourselves and your opponents, and that the end will be your expulsion from the State."

In the Quincy *Whig* (a paper published in Quincy) of Oct. 1st, a number of resolutions passed by a mass meeting of citizens in that city were

published, which were to the effect that they were willing to accept the proposition of the Saints to remove from the State in the spring; that they believed the Saints to be a persecuted people, but that they considered their grievances "to be the legitimate consequences of their own conduct;" that it was too late to attempt to settle the difficulties in Hancock County except by causing the Saints to remove from the State; that in their opinion the desired progress could not be made in preparing the way for the removal of the "Mormons" while J. B. Backenstos remained sheriff of the county, and that he ought to resign his office; that the people generally should be advised to suspend all legal prosecutions for alleged offenses during the state of excitement which then existed; that in order to manifest their sympathy for the poor and suffering, a committee should be appointed in Quincy with a treasurer to receive subscriptions from all citizens disposed to help with their means, to aid the Saints in removing; that they should expect the old offending citizens of Hancock County to be allowed to return to their homes in peace without being arrested by the sheriff and prosecuted for their crimes, etc.

From this it will be seen that though the people of Quincy doubtless entertained more real friendship for the Saints than did those of any other city of the State opposed to them, they did not possess that determination to see justice maintained and innocence vindicated that they should have done. In fact they took the very course to encourage the enemies of the Saints to re-enact their bloody deeds on the first prov-

ocation. Notwithstanding the troubles through which the Saints were passing, they felt generally remarkably cheerful and united. They felt that they were in the hands of God, and they were willing to leave the State and journey forth into the wilderness, as they should be led, though they knew not where they should go to.

About this time Elder Orson Pratt issued two messages from New York to the Saints in the Eastern and Middle States, announcing the end of American liberty, as indicated in the movement to expel the Saints from Illinois, enumerated their sufferings and fervently appealed to all connected with the Church in those parts to gather out and assist in the defense of their brethren and sisters, and in relieving their sufferings.

On the 5th of October the Temple in Nauvoo was so far completed as to admit of a meeting being held in it. Just five and a half years had elapsed since the corner stone of the structure had been laid, during which time the Saints in their poverty had accomplished a most marvelous work in rearing it. No general conference of the Saints had been held for three years, the Prophet Joseph Smith having ordered that there should be no more baptisms for the dead until the ordinances could be attended to in the font of the Lord's House, and that the Church should not hold another general conference until they could do so in that house.

The Saints were now overjoyed at the prospect of meeting in conference on the morrow, and the Temple, so far as completed, was dedicated to the Lord as "a monument of the Saints' liberality, fidelity and faith."

The next day (Oct. 6th) the Saints assembled in general conference in the Temple. It was continued for three days, during which time much good instruction was given, the Saints were stimulated to prepare for their removal and the necessary steps to organize in companies for traveling. In presenting the names of the authorities of the Church to the people for their acceptance, William Smith as one of the Twelve Apostles and Patriarch was objected to by Elder Parley P. Pratt, who felt that he could not sustain him while he continued in the course he had lately been taking. William Smith was a very aspiring man and not very sincere withal. Though his brethren connected with him in the Priesthood had done all in their power to encourage him in remaining steadfast in the faith, he had persisted in trying to create disunion in their midst, and by advancing false doctrine had caused many to be disaffected. In fact his conduct for some time previous had been anything but such as a Saint's and especially an Apostle's should be. The motion to sustain him in his office was put to the assembly and no one could be found to vote for him. His office was therefore by unanimous vote taken from him, and on the following Sunday, proof having been received in the meantime of certain acts of his, he was cut off from the Church. (See page 45.)

President Brigham Young was continued as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the others of the Apostles, namely: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, George A.

Smith and Lyman Wight were each presented and sustained, with the exception of Lyman Wight, whose case was laid over until some of his actions could be investigated.

During this conference Lucy Smith, the aged mother of the Prophet and Patriarch, addressed the assembled multitude, and when she recounted the trials and persecutions she and her family suffered at the hands of their enemies, those who heard her were forced to shed tears. Especially was this the case when she related the account of a scene in Missouri when her son, Joseph Smith the Prophet, was condemned to be shot in fifteen minutes. For some time previous to this, Mother Smith, as she was familiarly called, had been opposed to removing with the Saints, and had stated that she preferred to remain where her husband and sons were buried. During the conference, however, she felt extremely fervent on the subject of the removal and expressed her willingness to go and her wish that her whole family might go and remain united with the Church. This caused a general feeling of rejoicing among the Saints, who by vote expressed their willingness to bring her remains back to Nauvoo, whenever she should die, and deposit them with those of her family buried there, according to her wish.

President Young informed the people that the Prophet had once said: "If I fall in battle in Missouri, I want you to bring my bones back and deposit them in that sepulchre—I command you to do it in the name of the Lord." The sepulchre spoken of was one the Prophet had prepared for that purpose on the Temple square, in Nauvoo. This expressed

wish had not been complied with by the Saints, because his widow had opposed it. President Young further said: "We are determined also to use every means in our power to do all that Joseph told us. And we will petition Sister Emma, in the name of Israel's God, to let us deposit the remains of Joseph according as he commanded; and if she will not consent to it, our garments are clear."

We may here remark that Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, never did consent to have this command of his carried out, though the Saints did all that they could reasonably to induce her to.

While the people were assembled in conference on the afternoon of the 7th of October, they were startled by receiving the intelligence that a body of armed men had just entered the city, and fearing that they might be a party of the mob come to create a surprise and disturbance, the meeting was adjourned till the next day, and the people were ordered to be ready to act on the defensive. It was soon afterwards ascertained that the party who had arrived were under command of Major Warren, and had come, as they said, to search the city for stolen property—though it was strongly suspected, and with good reason too, that such was not the real object of their visit. The alarm soon subsided, and those who had by this time sallied out with their fire-arms to defend themselves, returned peaceably to their homes. After searching about town a short time the party left, and a letter was shortly afterwards sent to Major Warren by the council of authorities in Nauvoo, explaining the slight excitement noticeable on their arrival

in the city as being due to the surprise they had given the citizens, and requesting him to give notice by letter or otherwise when he wished to make another such visit. In conclusion they added:

"In regard to searching for stolen property in Nauvoo, we have not the least objection to it, providing it be done in a legal manner, and we pledge ourselves to aid any legal officer in a lawful search any time; but we are opposed to men coming into our houses and taking away our individual property, which we have bought and paid for honestly, without either describing the property professed to be stolen or presenting lawful process, all of which we consider to be unconstitutional and oppressive, and calculated to put us to much unnecessary trouble and expense, as well as to defeat us in our efforts to move away next spring."

After the conference adjourned, President Young addressed a circular to the Saints scattered throughout the United States, calling upon them to gather up and assist in completing the Temple in Nauvoo, and receive their endowments there, a privilege for which the faithful Saints had so long and fervently prayed. He called upon them to dispose of their property not suitable to remove, and supply themselves with teams and such other property, as they would need in commencing their long journey in the spring.

The Saints were not wholly unprepared for the opposition and persecution they had to meet, for it was only in fulfilment of the words of the Prophet. Joseph Smith had predicted that the persecutions should continue, and they should be forced to remove to the West. So that their enemies by persecuting them and compelling their removal, though it was not at all creditable to them, were literally fulfilling the words of the Prophet.

Affairs in the county now remained in a very unsettled condition. It was expected that Sheriff Backenstos would be tried at Quincy for the killing of the desperado Worrell, or rather for ordering him killed. The willingness of the sheriff to submit to trial was evinced in a letter he wrote to Nauvoo, in which he stated ironically: "I expect to go to Quincy for the purpose of paying my respects to Judge Purple and having a great man discharge me from the awful crime of killing one of our best citizens (?), to wit, Lieut. Worrell. What an unpleasant loss to this great republic! Had he lived, might he not have excelled even L. W. Boggs, of Missouri?" Backenstos afterwards went to Quincy and underwent his examination, when he was bound over for trial at the next session of court.

During all this time the organizing of companies was progressing, and preparations were being made by the Saints for bravely facing the hardships they would have to encounter on their journey. The food they were counseled to take with them did not consist of any great luxuries, but on the contrary, plain, strong food, calculated to sustain life and keep up their strength on their journey.

The feeling in Nauvoo at this time was not one of safety by any means, so far as the power and disposition of the enemy was considered, for it was currently reported that General Hardin had pledged himself to the mob to go to Nauvoo with his troops and arrest several of the citizens there, or "unroof every house in Nauvoo" in trying it. Also that 300 men from Quincy had volunteered to help him, and they ex-

pected to be joined on the road by others.

October 21, 1845, Judge Purple held court in Carthage, and displayed so much prejudice against the Saints and favor for the mobbers, that Sheriff Backenstos expressed himself in speaking of his doings as being thoroughly disgusted with such "judicial humbugs." One case brought up for trial was that of two brethren, Jesse P. Harmon and John Lyttle, charged with being engaged in destroying the press and fixtures of the *Expositor*, the contemptible libelous paper formerly published in Nauvoo. A man named Rollison was the principal witness against them. He professed to know all about the proceedings of abating the nuisance and described the manner in which it was done. When asked whether it was Appleton M. Harmon or Jesse P. Harmon who was guilty, he replied that it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he became confused and said he could not tell which it was. He was then asked which of the brothers Lyttle—John or Andrew—was the guilty one. He replied again, it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he said it was the blacksmith. It happened that they were both blacksmiths, so that he could not fix the crime upon either of them, and the jury acquitted them. This was in accordance with the prediction of the Prophet Joseph, who said, when it was reported to him that the policeman had abated the nuisance, that not one of them should be harmed for what they had done in the matter.

On the night of October 23rd one of the men under command of Ma-

Major Warren was shot under the following circumstances:

A man by the name of Nathan Bigelow, who lived at Camp Creek, was ordered by a party of the mob to leave his house, as they were coming to burn it down. He sent his son to Nauvoo for help, from which place he went to Carthage and informed Major Warren of the facts. Major Warren replied that he had no men to send, and that the young man had better return to his father and tell him to defend his house as best he could, and call upon his neighbors to assist him. Soon after the son started on his return, however, Major Warren did dispatch five men to assist Bigelow in the defense of his house. They arrived at the place about 11 o'clock at night, in advance of the son, and immediately attempted to force an entrance at the door without knocking. Bigelow, supposing the mob had come to attack him, asked repeatedly who were there and what was wanted, but received no reply from the men outside. He then warned them that he would shoot if they opened the door. The men still, seemingly regardless of the consequences, continued to force at the door till they effected an entrance, when Bigelow discharged a pistol and musket at the leading man, Lieutenant Edwards, taking effect in his hip and breast. The men then, when too late, informed Bigelow that they were the governor's troops and had come to assist him. Of course, sorrow was then expressed at the occurrence, and the wounded man was well cared for. Though Bigelow could scarcely be blamed for what he did, as he acted with as much caution as the circumstances would

warrant, he was arrested and taken to Carthage for trial.

Before Judge Purple, whose court was being held at Carthage, the Saints could not hope to obtain redress for their wrongs, as he utterly refused to hear any evidence in their favor. Governor Ford, General Hardin and other State officers, having promised that justice should be administered in the case of those whose property had been destroyed, and who had otherwise suffered from the depredations of the mob, quite a number of the brethren left their families destitute and journeyed to Carthage to give in their testimony as witnesses against the house-burners. The grand jury refused to hear their testimony or to admit any of them into the jury room, thereby adding insult to injury, for notwithstanding the promises made, their claims for justice were wholly ignored. Thus the men who were guilty were shielded, while many of them were in the ranks of the State troops at Carthage, and others roaming at large, still threatening the lives of peaceable citizens and burning houses and other buildings wherever they had opportunity of doing so and escaping.

In view of the threatening aspect of the mob, and the apparent indifference of the State officers to protect the Saints, a number of men from Nauvoo were stationed at certain distances apart between that place and Carthage, to express news of any hostile demonstrations on the part of the mob to Nauvoo.

On the 25th Major Warren, Judge Purple, J. B. Backenstos and Judge Ralston, with a body of troops, arrived in Nauvoo, and Major Warren immediately demanded an explana-

tion of the movements of the expressmen, several of whom he saw on the prairie while he was on his way to Nauvoo. President Young mildly informed him why they had been sent out, when Major Warren became enraged and declared that he would issue a manifesto and place the county under martial law. His language aroused the indignation of Elder John Taylor, who listened to him, and who had scarcely recovered from the severe wounds he had received at the time when Joseph and Hyrum were assassinated. He replied to Major Warren in a very forcible manner, telling him that the treachery of the State officers in the past towards the Saints had caused them to be suspicious of their pretended protection, and they had placed the expressmen out there to communicate at once the news of any hostile movements, that the citizens might be better able to defend themselves in case of attack, as well as to help those of their brethren who were at Carthage being tried. In conclusion he said:

"We lack confidence in the governor's troops under your command, and while hundreds of murderers, robbers and house-burners roam at large, unwhipped of justice, we shall take measures to protect ourselves. I, sir, have been shot all to pieces under the protection of the governor's troops. Our leading men have been murdered in Carthage, and we shall not trust ourselves unprotected again until the State gives some evidence, more than it has done, of its justice and humane intentions to enforce its laws."

Judge Purple begged of him not to talk on such an exciting topic. Elder Taylor then changed the subject by ordering wine for the company, of which all partook except Major Warren.

The officers and troops did not tarry long in Nauvoo, and after they

left, the council of authorities dispatched E. A. Bedell, Esq., and Bishop George Miller with a communication to his Excellency Thomas Ford, governor of the State, in which they informed him of the threat of Major Warren to declare martial law, and implored him to dismiss the troops under his command, as the Saints had more to fear from them than from the mob at large, although the latter still continued their depredations.

Bishop George Miller and Mr. Bedell traveled day and night to reach Springfield and present to Governor Ford the petition from the council in Nauvoo, for the removal of the armed forces from the county. The governor received them kindly, and after perusing the communication of which they were the bearers, he read to them a number of letters he had received from individuals in Hancock County and other parts of the State, urging the necessity of keeping a force stationed there all winter. He deplored the condition of the country, and stated that he considered the people of the State generally a mob, and that he could not trust them to act in any emergency where the Saints as a community were a party. He was willing to acknowledge that justice had not been done to the Saints, but he was afraid to exercise the power which by virtue of his office belonged to him, because, as he said, if he should exert the executive influence in behalf of the Saints as he ought to do, it would result in his own overthrow as well as that of the Saints. He finally promised to go to Hancock County and endeavor to pacify the mob and maintain order until the Saints could leave in the spring; and after that,

bring those who were guilty of murdering, mobbing and house-burning to justice.

After Major Warren and his troops had left Nauvoo on the occasion of his threatening to place the county under martial law, it was ascertained that among his party was a deputy marshal from Iowa, who had come to Illinois with a demand on the governor for the Twelve Apostles of the Church. A certain Dr. Abiather Williams, who had the unenviable reputation of being a counterfeiter, had been before one of the judges of Iowa and sworn that the Twelve Apostles had made "bogus" money in his house. On his testimony an order was issued for their arrest, and the deputy marshal was sent to Nauvoo for that purpose. The real intention of Major Warren in making his visit to Nauvoo with his troops, was to assist in making these arrests, but they were deterred from doing so by the animated speech of Elder John Taylor.

The authorities of the Church had been harassed so much with trumped-up charges which, like this, had no foundation in truth, that they were not surprised at it. However, as it was reported that a larger force was being obtained, with which the officers would again visit Nauvoo and make the arrests, the accused men secreted themselves where they were not likely to be found, to save themselves the vexation of arrest, trial and probable incarceration, such as they had undergone before on false charges.

On the evening of the 27th Major Warren sought and obtained an interview with President Young and the Twelve Apostles. His feelings towards the Saints seemed to have

changed somewhat. He acknowledged that the object of his last visit to Nauvoo with his troops was to make the arrests spoken of, but he now considered it unjust to serve the writs, as it would hinder the arrangements of the Saints to remove. As a proof of his sincerity, he stated that he was going to Springfield the next day, and one part of his business there was to induce his relatives and friends to remove to Nauvoo and purchase farms from the Saints.

From the encouragement the mob had received in being allowed to go free of punishment after the committal of their many crimes, it was not to be expected that they would cease their deeds of violence. At Camp Creek about thirty of them surrounded the house of Samuel Hicks at midnight, called Mr. Hicks out of his bed and stated that they were the governor's troops direct from Carthage. Without allowing him to clothe himself they forced him away; after which, though both his wife and child were at the time sick with the ague, they were allowed scarcely time to get out of the house and remove a few of their household goods, when the house was fired. After the flames had burst through the roof and made such progress that it was not possible for him to quench them, Hicks, chilled through with the cold night air, and shaking with the ague, was set at liberty by the mob, and allowed to return to the smoking ruins of his house, while the mob went their way. Another house was also fired in the same vicinity, about the same time. The statement of the mob that they were the governor's troops was probably not true, as a number of them were recognized as old mobbers.

Shortly afterwards a party of them appeared at midnight in the Green plains precinct, and set a straw stack, the property of Solomon Hancock, on fire, and then concealed themselves near by. When the owner of the stack and a number of others rallied to the scene to extinguish the fire, the mob shot at them and killed Elder Edmund Durfee, an old member of the Church, and one of the most inoffensive men in the country. Though the bullets flew thick and fast around the others, none of them were hurt in the least. Some of the mob engaged in the tragic affair, afterwards boasted that they had shot Durfee in order to win a wager of a gallon of whisky, that the stack had been set on fire to cause an alarm and draw the men out, and that by killing him they had won the whisky.

News of the actions of the mob was immediately sent to Major Warren, and his interference requested. He evinced considerable energy in hunting up the guilty parties, and actually followed one man into Missouri to arrest him. Notwithstanding the governor's boast that the troops were saving the Saints from total destruction, Major Warren acknowledged to Sheriff Backenstos that the killing of Durfee never would have occurred had the troops not been in the county. Though no evidence was wanting to convict the men who were guilty of the deed, as several of the brethren who were witnesses of the scene were summoned and appeared at the court at the examination of the case to give in their testimony, and the affidavits of others were sent, in accordance with a previous request of the State attorney, the trial resulted in just such a farce as the many previous

ones had done, where the Saints were the injured parties. Their testimony was unheeded and the case was dismissed without even a grand jury having been summoned.

The labors of the Saints about this time were mainly for the accomplishment of two objects: the finishing of the Temple and preparing to remove in the spring. Wagon-shops were established all over the city, and every available wheelwright, as well as carpenters and cabinet-makers, and a great many others who had never worked before at either business, were employed at making wagons. Green timber in large quantities was cut and hauled into the city, where it was "seasoned" ready for being made up by being boiled in salt water or dried in kilns. Iron was obtained from all parts of the country to fit them up, and blacksmiths were engaged day and night working at them. Many of the wagons made were rude affairs, not so nicely painted and ironed as those now in common use; in fact, but very little iron, so necessary an element in their manufacture, was used in the construction of many of them, it being so exceedingly scarce. Many were actually made without iron for tires, hoops of wood being used instead.

After the strenuous and unremitting exertions of the Saints for upwards of five years to build the Temple in Nauvoo, they were highly gratified at having a portion of the house so far completed as to admit of the holy ordinances of the Church being administered in it. During the month of December, 1845, a great many persons received their endowments there.

The efforts of the Saints to find

purchasers for their property were generally unavailing. Quite a number of delegates from Catholic churches of different cities and other associations visited Nauvoo, and talked strongly of purchasing or leasing the Temple and other public buildings, and most of them expressed their admiration of the Temple, the beautiful city and its surroundings. But their visits generally terminated with a promise on their part to further consider the question of purchase, and, though the terms offered by the Saints were liberal, only one half the valuation of like property similarly situated in other parts of the country being asked, the agents or delegates seldom went farther in the matter than to examine the property and talk of purchasing or leasing.

Some little excitement was caused at Nauvoo, in the early part of December, 1845, by the receipt of news from Washington that the Secretary of War and several other Cabinet officers at the Capital were determined to prevent, if possible, the Saints from moving westward. They fancied they could do so on the plea that it was contrary to law for an armed force to remove from the United States to the dominion of any other government. The rumor then was that the Saints would probably locate in California or Oregon, the territory of which at that time belonged to the dominion of Mexico. President Young told the people that they would go in spite of all the efforts of officers and others to prevent them, as he felt that the Lord would deliver the Saints in the future as He had done in the past.

Conciliatory letters were written from Nauvoo to Stephen A. Douglas

and several other members of Congress to secure their influence in opposition to this movement to prevent the removal of the Saints. Several times during the month of December, officers visited Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting President Young and members of the Twelve Apostles, but those brethren managed to elude them, and in order to do so were forced to disguise themselves on several occasions. On the 23rd of December the famous "Bogus Brigham" arrest was made concerning which President Young subsequently related the following:

"By the time we were at work in the Nauvoo Temple, officiating in the ordinances, the mob had learned that 'Mormonism' was not dead as they had supposed. We had completed the walls of the Temple, and the attic story from about half way up of the first windows, in about fifteen months. It went up like magic, and we commenced officiating in the ordinances. Then the mob commenced to hunt for other victims; they had already killed the Prophets Joseph and Hyrum in Carthage jail, while under the pledge of the State for their safety, and now they wanted Brigham, the President of the Twelve Apostles, who were then acting as the Presidency of the Church.

"I was in my room in the Temple; it was in the southeast corner of the upper story. I learned that a *posse* was lurking around the Temple and that the United States Marshal was waiting for me to come down, whereupon I knelt down and asked my Father in Heaven, in the name of Jesus, to guide and protect me that I might live to prove advantageous to the Saints. I arose from my knees and sat down in my chair; there came a rap at my door. I said, 'Come in;' and Brother George D. Grant, who was then engaged driving my carriage and doing chores for me, entered the room. Said he, 'Brother Brigham, do you know that a *posse* and the United States Marshal are here?' I told him I had heard so. On entering the room Brother Grant left the door open. Nothing came into my mind what to do, until looking directly across the hall I saw Brother William Miller leaning against the wall. As I stepped towards the door I beckoned to him; he came. Said I to him, 'Brother William, the marshal is here for

me; will you go and do just as I tell you? If you will, I will serve them a trick.' I knew that Brother Miller was an excellent man, perfectly reliable and capable of carrying out my project. Said I, 'Here take my cloak;' but it happened to be Brother Heber C. Kimball's; our cloaks were alike in color, fashion and size. I threw it around his shoulders and told him to wear my hat and accompany Brother George D. Grant. He did so. I said to Brother Grant, 'George, you step into the carriage and look towards Brother Miller, and say to him, as though you were addressing me, 'Are you ready to ride?' You can do this and they will suppose Brother Miller to be me, and proceed accordingly, which they did.

"Just as Brother Miller was entering the carriage the marshal stepped up to him and placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, 'You are my prisoner.' Brother William entered the carriage and said to the marshal, 'I am going to the Mansion House, won't you ride with me?' They both went to the Mansion House. There were my sons Joseph A. and Brigham jun., Brother Heber C. Kimball's boys, and others who were looking on, and all seemed at once to understand and partake of the joke. They followed the carriage to the Mansion House and gathered around Brother Miller, with tears in their eyes, saying, 'Father, or President Young, where are you going?' Brother Miller looked at them kindly, but made no reply; and the marshal really thought he had got 'Brother Brigham.'

"Lawyer Edmonds, who, was then staying at the Mansion House, appreciating the joke, volunteered to Brother Miller to go to Carthage with him and see him safe through. When they arrived within two or three miles of Carthage, the marshal with his posse stopped. They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, and, like a tribe of Indians going into battle, or as if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shouting, they exclaimed, 'We've got him; we've got him! we've got him!' When they reached Carthage the marshal took the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same time telling those around that he had got him. Brother Miller remained in the room until they bid him come to supper. While there, parties came in, one after the other, and asked for Brigham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. So it continued, until an apostate Mormon by the name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, came in, sat down and asked the landlord where Brigham Young was. The land-

lord, pointing across the table to Brother Miller said, 'That is Mr. Young.' Thatcher replied, 'Where? I can't see any one that looks like Brigham.'—The landlord told him it was that fat, fleshy man eating. 'Oh, h—l!' exclaimed Thatcher, 'that's not Brigham, that is William Miller, one of my old neighbors.' Upon hearing this the landlord went and, tapping the sheriff on the shoulder, took him a few steps to one side and said, 'You have made a mistake, that is not Brigham Young, it is William Miller, of Nauvoo.' The marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed, 'Good heavens! and he passed for Brigham.' He then took Brother Miller into a room, and turning to him said, 'What in h—l is the reason you did not tell me your name?' Brother Miller replied, 'You have not asked me my name?' 'Well,' said the sheriff, with another oath, 'What is your name?' 'My name,' he replied, 'is William Miller.' Said the marshal, 'I thought your name was Brigham Young. Do you say this for a fact?' 'Certainly I do,' said Brother Miller. 'Then,' said the marshal, 'Why did you not tell me this before?' 'I was under no obligations to tell you,' replied Brother Miller, 'as you did not ask me.' Then the marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by Brother Miller, who walked off in company with Lawyer Edmonds, Sheriff Backenstos and others, who took him across lots to a place of safety; and this is the real pith of the story of 'Bogus Brigham,' as far as I can recollect."

Dec 27, 1845, a United States deputy marshal appeared to again search for the Twelve and others. He was allowed to search every part of the Temple, in viewing which and the city from the tower he expressed his gratification with what he saw. He, however, had to leave without effecting the object of his search, as those for whom he sought knew from past experience that the easiest and cheapest way to secure justice for themselves was to keep out of the power of officers whose chief aim was to convict and punish the Saints, whether cause of complaint against them existed or not, and they accordingly kept out of their way.

Jan. 4, 1846, Governor Ford wrote a lengthy letter to Sheriff Backen-

stos, in which he made a great effort to impress the idea that he had not instituted the late attempt to arrest the Church authorities in Nauvoo, nor aided in it by furnishing troops to accompany the marshal. He stated that it was purely a U. S. government affair in which he took no official part, and that he refused, when requested by the marshal, to furnish troops. He expressed his belief that the government would prevent the removal of the Saints westward of the Rocky Mountains, as they would be sure to "join the British" and be more trouble to the United States than ever. He indulged in forebodings and speculations as to the result of the Saints being brought into collision with the government, and thought it not unlikely that the leaders of the Church would have to separate from the people and become fugitives in the earth, or submit to a trial on their indictments.

Jan. 20, 1846, the High Council of the Church issued from Nauvoo a circular to the members of the Church generally and others, in which was announced the intention of the authorities to send out a company of young, hardy man as pioneers, early in the month of March, to make their way westward, until they could find a location in some valley in the region of the Rocky Mountains, where they could plant seed and raise a crop, build houses, and prepare for the reception of the families who were to start as early in the spring as the grass would be grown sufficiently to sustain the teams and stock that would be taken. The place they should select would be made a resting place for the Saints until a permanent location

could be decided upon. The statement that had been circulated, to the effect that the Saints had become alienated from their country and dissatisfied with the form of government of the United States, was denied; and it was stated that:

"Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."

At that time settlements were being made in Oregon by the United States, and it was thought probable that the government would establish a line of forts along the route from the Missouri River to those settlements. In case this should be done, the Saints hoped to have the work of building to do, as they would probably be near the route, and on that account be able to do it to better advantage than others; and the proceeds of their employment would relieve their necessities.

It was decided that those able to start and owning teams and other things required should do so as early as possible, and A. W. Babbitt, Jos. L. Heywood, John S. Fullmer, Henry W. Miller and John M. Bernhisel were appointed a committee to dispose of the property of the Saints. As fast as sales of property could be made, the means obtained were to be devoted to helping out those who, for the lack of the necessary outfit to leave with, would remain.

During the month of January the probability that the Saints would encounter trouble in leaving seemed to grow stronger every day. The

rumor reached Nauvoo from Washington that the officers of the government would intercept them on their way and take all their fire-arms, so that if they were determined to go they might go defenseless. President Young counseled those of the people who were prepared to leave to keep themselves in readiness to start on a few hours' notice.

Elder Samuel Brannan, having chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, set sail from New York for California Feb. 4, 1846, with about 230 souls on board, mostly Saints. (See *The Ship Brooklyn*.)

The work of administering the holy ordinances in the Temple continued almost incessantly, day and night, up to the 7th of February, the people being so anxious in this respect that they seemed almost unwilling to have President Young and the Twelve depart, as in that case their privileges would cease. A few days, previous the removal of the Saints was commenced. (See *Journeynings in the Wilderness*.) President Brigham Young and others, with their families, left Nauvoo Feb. 15, 1846.

During the month of February, 1846, while those who had started from Nauvoo on their westward journey were encamped on Sugar Creek, news reached them of a movement in New York, set in operation for the purpose of swindling them out of the homes they expected to acquire on reaching their destination in the west. According to letters received from Samuel Brannan, who had been acting as agent for the Church in New York, it appeared that a number of men, among whom were Amos Kendall, formerly Postmaster-

General of the United States, and A. G. Benson, had conspired to raise the impression that the government had the power and right, and would exercise the same, to disarm the Saints, prevent their movement westward and cause them to disperse. They had convinced Brannan that this was really the case, and also that they possessed the necessary influence to avert the calamity, and were willing to do so on certain conditions. The conditions were that if the Saints should be allowed to pursue their journey without molestation from the government, they, on reaching their destination, should deed one half of their landed possessions—every alternate lot or section—to this combination of men, among whom, as they represented, was the President of the United States, though his name was not to be used in the matter. Elder Brannan, in his zeal and anxiety to save the Church from trouble, allowed these men to draw up an article of agreement, containing the above stipulations, which he signed on the part of the Church, and A. G. Benson for the other party, and then forwarded it to Nauvoo to have it sanctioned by the leading men of the Church, in order to have it ratified.

This effort to defraud the Saints was so transparent that President Young, and the prominent men of the camp, to whom the matter was submitted, readily saw through it; and notwithstanding that Elder Brannan seemed so sanguine that the intentions of the schemers were honest, and had in good faith attached his signature to it, the authorities of the Church were not so credulous, and accordingly the document never received their sanction.

President Young and a few others of the camp returned to Nauvoo on the 18th of February and remained there during the following Sunday to preach to and encourage those who remained in the city. During the meeting considerable excitement was caused by the floor of the Temple, in which they were assembled, settling a little, with a cracking sound. The consternation which ensued was intense, and two men—apostates—who were in the assembly, were so overcome by fear that they actually jumped out of the window, which resulted in one of them breaking his leg and the other his arm, besides smashing the glass of the window in making their hasty exit. President Young tried in vain to allay the fears of the people and explain to them the cause of alarm, and finally adjourned the meeting to the grove near by, though the snow covered the ground to the depth of a foot.

Preparations for the removal westward continued. The work on the Temple was also prosecuted, and the greatest anxiety of the Saints seemed to be to complete that edifice as far as possible, and prepare an outfit for their journey. There were a great many apostates there who continued to do all in their power to create disunion, but their influence was limited. The Saints generally were united in trying to carry out the counsel given them by President Young previous to starting. Quite a number of men who had formerly been prominent in the Church and turned away through transgression were endeavoring to create schisms. John E. Page, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, was very bitter in his denunciation of the authorities of the Church, and in a public speech

to the people of Nauvoo advised them to accept J. J. Strang, another apostate, as their leader. Strang had succeeded in raising quite a number of followers, and indeed a certain class of persons who had been members of the Church and who had not the Spirit of God, were ready to listen to and believe the false doctrines of any person who might start out with a pretended new revelation from God to lead them. In illustration of this it may be mentioned that about the time of which we write, a man named C. W. Wandell wrote an article purporting to be a revelation from God to J. J. Strang and sent it to one of his followers to see what effect it would have among those of his class. This man read it in a public meeting, and testified that he knew it was from the Lord, and it was immediately accepted by the others as a direct revelation from the Lord; but Wandell, seeing the credence it gained, informed them that he was the author of it, that Strang never saw it, and that the Lord had nothing to do with it.

Wandell was very much to blame for this deception. His attempt to deceive the people by the false use of the name of the Lord was sinful and blasphemous. He, himself, soon after lost the Spirit of the Lord and fell into darkness, and though some years afterwards he renewed his covenants and went on missions, he again lost his standing and was, the last we heard of him, an opponent to the Church.

Luke Johnson, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, who had for some time been out of the Church, confessed his error about this time, in a public meeting in Nauvoo, and ex-

pressed a desire to again connect himself with the Church, and journey with them in the wilderness. He accordingly renewed his covenants. (See page 43.)

Apostle Orson Hyde continued to labor in Nauvoo after the other members of his quorum had left for the wilderness. The care and responsibility which rested upon him at that time were very great. The Saints were surrounded by enemies who only wanted the least pretext to pounce upon and mob and murder them. Many of them were very poor, and were anxiously trying to dispose of what little property they had for means to buy them an outfit. Under these circumstances it required great diligence, wisdom and vigilance on his part, as well as on the part of the Elders associated with him, to attend to the necessary public duties and to avoid difficulty. Then there was the Temple to complete, so that it could be dedicated to the Lord and be accepted by Him. He had commanded that it should be built, and until it was built the baptisms for the dead, performed elsewhere, were to be acceptable unto Him. But if, after the Saints had had sufficient time to build a house to the Lord, they did not fulfil this commandment, they were to be rejected as a Church, with their dead. In the revelation which was given upon this subject, the Lord explained how the labors of His servants and people—even when they did not complete a Temple which He might command them to erect—might be acceptable to Him. He said:

“Verily, verily I say unto you, that when I give a commandment to any of the sons of men, to do a work unto my name, and those sons of men go with all their might, and with all they have, to perform that work,

and cease not their diligence, and their enemies come upon them, and hinder them from performing that work; behold, it becometh me to require that work no more at the hands of those sons of men, but to accept of their offerings; and the iniquity and transgression of my holy laws and commandments I will visit upon the heads of those who hindered my work, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord God. Therefore for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and a house unto my name in Jackson County, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God: and I will answer judgment, wrath, and indignation, wailing and anguish, and gnashing of teeth upon their heads, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord your God. And this I make an example unto you, for your consolation concerning all those who have been commanded to do a work, and have been hindered by the hands of their enemies, and by oppression, saith the Lord your God.” (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124, Verses 49-53.)

. The Saints could possibly have excused themselves by this revelation for not doing any more work on the Temple, after their enemies had come upon them and by violence compelled them to promise to leave their homes. But this was not the feeling of President Young and his brethren. They were determined to do all in their power to finish the house. From the time of their return to Nauvoo, after the death of the Prophet Joseph, until they were compelled to leave there, they had worked unceasingly on the Temple. The labor that was performed on that building in fifteen or sixteen months after their return was marvellous, when the means are considered with which it had to be done. Within that space of time the greater part of the walls were built, the roof was put on, the tower was erected, the upper rooms were finished, and many of the Saints received their en-

downments therein. But not satisfied with this, though they had to leave Nauvoo themselves, instructions were given to prosecute the work of finishing the house, and all the means that could be spared was devoted to that object. Elder Orson Hyde had the pleasure of announcing to President Young by letter, that on the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Soon after this the mobbers renewed their hostile operations against the remnant of the Saints who still lingered at Nauvoo. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made upon the city, which could scarcely muster 123 efficient men, but after several days' bombardment, the mob succeeded, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1846, in driving the people, helpless and destitute of nearly everything, across the Mississippi River into Iowa. (See *The Battle of Nauvoo*.)

Language can scarcely convey a correct idea of the sufferings endured by these fugitives from Nauvoo in their hurried flight to escape the tortures of the mob, who seemed so bent on disregarding the stipulations of the unjust treaty that had been forced upon them. Many camped across the river on the opposite bank from Nauvoo and others scattered off in different directions, sheltering themselves as best they could; some forming rude tents with quilts or blankets, and others being only able to cover themselves with a bower made of brush. To add to their misery what little clothing they possessed was, for a great portion of the time, drenched with rain, and instances have been related by persons living who passed through those

scenes of their having for days watched at the bedside of the dying while they could only afford a partial shelter to the prostrate form by holding milk-pans over it, to catch the falling rain as it dripped through the thin wagon cover. Some of the most influential men among them visited cities in the adjoining States and asked aid from the able and generous, for those of their brethren and sisters whose sufferings they tried to depict. By this means partial relief was obtained for some, but the majority of the sufferers were unable to better their condition until they had slowly worked their way into Iowa or Missouri and obtained employment of some kind, or were helped by teams sent back by those who had previously left Nauvoo.

The condition of the Saints at Nauvoo strongly excited the sympathies of the Camp of Israel at Winter Quarters (see *Journeyings in the Wilderness*), and teams and means were freely contributed and sent back to aid them. A number of these teams arrived on the bank of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, Oct. 7, 1846, and on the 9th the camp of the poor was organized and started for the West. Previous to this a number had scattered up and down the river, some going to St. Louis and others to Burlington, but all who wished to move westward had the opportunity offered them, and they were brought on to the main camp by the teams which had been sent back.

During the time when the Saints were suffering privation and exposure after their final expulsion from Nauvoo, they were visited by the late General Thomas L. Kane, who was impressed with the condition of

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During the time when the Saints were suffering privation and exposure after their final expulsion from Navvoo, they were visited by the late General Thomas L. Kane, who was impressed with the condition of

downcast therein. But not satisfied with this, though they had to leave Navvoo themselves, instructions were given to prosecute the work of sheltering the poor, and all the means that could be spared was devoted to that object. Elder Orion Hyde had the pleasure of announcing to President Young by letter, that on the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. (See Navvoo Temple.)

Soon after this the mobbers renewed their hostile operations against the remnant of the Saints who still lingered at Navvoo. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made upon the city, which could scarcely muster 125 efficient men, but after several days' bombardment the mob succeeded, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1846, in driving the poor, helpless and destitute of nearly everything, across the Mississippi River into Iowa. (See The Battle of Navvoo.)

Language can scarcely convey a correct idea of the suffering endured by these fugitives from Navvoo as their hurried flight to escape the torments of the mob, who seemed bent on disregarding the stipulations of the unjust treaty that had been forced upon them. Many camped across the river on the opposite bank from Navvoo and others scattered off in different directions, sheltering themselves as best they could; some forming rude tents with poles or blankets, and others being only able to cover themselves with a bower made of brush. To add to their misery what little holding they possessed was, for a great portion of the time, drenched with rain, and instances have been related by persons living who passed through those

the Saints and the injustice of the acts of their enemies. A more true and striking picture in language could hardly be drawn than that given by him in a historical address some years afterwards, of the scenes he there witnessed. We quote a portion of it:

"A few years ago, ascending the Upper Mississippi in the autumn, when its waters were low, I was compelled to travel by land past the region of the Rapids. My road lay through the Half-breed Tract, a fine section of Iowa, which the unsettled state of its land-titles had appropriated as a sanctuary for coiners, horse-thieves and other outlaws. I had left my steamer at Keokuk, at the foot of the Lower Falls, to hire a carriage, and to contend for some fragments of a dirty meal with the swarming flies, the only scavengers of the locality.

"From this place to where the deep water of the river returns, my eye wearied to see everywhere sordid, vagabond and idle settlers, and a country marred, without being improved by their careless hands. I was descending the last hill-side upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half-encircled by a bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill, which was crowned by a noble marble edifice, whose high tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles, and beyond it, in the background, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The unmistakable marks of industry, enterprise and educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty. It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved ways: rains had not entirely washed away the prints of du ty footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went

into empty workshops, rope-walks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle, the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold, but his coal heap and ladling pool and crooked water horn were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work-people anywhere looked to know my errand.

"If I went into the garden, clinking the wicket-latch loudly after me, to pull the marigolds, heartsease and lady-slipppers and draw a drink with the water-sodden well-bucket and its noisy chain, or, knocking off with my stick the tall, heavy-headed dahlias and sunflowers, hunted over the beds for cucumbers and love-apples—no one called out to me from any opened window, or dog sprang forward to bark an alarm.

"I could have supposed the people hidden in the houses, but the doors were unfastened, and when, at last, I timidly entered them, I found dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to tread a-tiptoe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid arousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors.

"On the outskirts of the town was the city graveyard; but there was no record of plague there, nor did it in anywise differ much from other Protestant American cemeteries. Some of the mounds were not long sodded; some of the stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly dried lettering ink. Beyond the graveyard, out in the fields, I saw, in one spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly torn down, the still smouldering embers of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from the fencing around it. It was the latest sign of life there. Fields upon fields of heavy-headed yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest.

"As far as the eye could reach, they stretched away—they, sleeping too, in the hazy air of autumn. Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the eastern suburb the houses looking out upon the country showed, by their splintered wood-work and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men

were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. These challenged me to render an account of myself and why I had had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

"Though these men were generally, more or less, under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told the story of the Dead City; that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and had finally been successful only a few days before my visit, in an action fought in front of the ruined suburb; after which, they had driven them forth at the point of the sword. The defense, they said, had been obstinate, but gave way on the third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly of their prowess, especially in this battle, as they called it; but I discovered they were not of one mind as to certain of the exploits that had distinguished it, one of which, as I remember, was, that they had slain a father and his son, a boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fated city, whom they admitted to have borne a character without reproach.

"They also conducted me inside the massive walls of the curious Temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed, and various sheltered chambers, in one of which was a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a dreadful design. Besides these, they led me to see a large and deep-chiselled marble vase or basin, supported upon twelve oxen, also of marble, and of the size of life, of which they told some romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, most of whom were emigrants from a great distance, believed their Deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents 'went into the water' for their lost children, children for their parents, widows for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers; that thus the Great Vase came to be for them associated with all

dear and distant memories, and was therefore the object, of all others in the building, to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account, the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

"They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple, to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before; and to look out, east and south, on wasted farms like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. Here, in the face of pure day, close to the scar of the divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a bass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain.

"It was after nightfall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I beaded higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

"Here, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle, in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street vendors of apples and peanuts, and which, flaring and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious, remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow, awkwardly-measured sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed. A toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes—he, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of

two little girls, who were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

"Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grand parents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons, famishing in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Ill. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who stopped their plows, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles and their workshop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread; these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their Temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of their dying.

"I think it was as I turned from the wretched night-watch of which I have spoken, that I first listened to the sounds of revel of a party of the guard within the city. Above the distant hum of the voices of many occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into the high belfry in the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivariic unison their loud-tongued steamboat bell.

"They were, all told, not more than 640 persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over 20,000. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful trains their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another

home. Hardly anything else was known of them; and people asked with curiosity, 'What had been their fate—what their fortune?'"

At the time the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo, those who took part with them, or were friendly with them, and who were termed by the mob "Jack-Mormons," also had to leave. Immediately after their expulsion, this class of persons appealed to Governor Ford to use his influence to reinstate them in their possessions. The governor all at once grew valiant, summoned a *posse* of 140 men, and marched into and took possession of Nauvoo. Whether he did this from a desire to see justice meted out to at least a portion of the innocent citizens of Nauvoo, or with a view to display his authority in an ostentatious manner, and hoping to make it appear to the public that he was not, nor ever had been, remiss in attending to his duties, we will not say; but he certainly did not act with becoming dignity while in Nauvoo, for he spent a great portion of his time carousing with the leading members of the mob party there. But though he might have been in favor of and on friendly terms with them, the mob forces generally did not feel so well towards him, for the favor he had shown the "Jack-Mormons." The mob held a meeting in Carthage, at which resolutions were passed to the effect that as soon as the governor's troops should leave Nauvoo the "Jack-Mormons" should be again expelled and even "less tenderly than they were before." These resolutions were published in their organs, the *Warsaw Signal* and the *Quincy Whig*. A few days subsequently the mob held a meeting in Nauvoo and warned the "Jack-Mormons" that they must

sell out their property to them at some agreed valuation and then leave the city, or they would again expel them. The "Jack-Mormons," however, did not seem disposed to accept the terms, but preferred running the risk of being driven. Ten women, representing themselves as a "committee of the anti-Mormon women of Hancock County," waited upon Governor Ford, and presented him with a package, which, when opened, proved to contain a petticoat, expressive of the contempt in which they held him. The action of the governor did not make matters any better for the sale of the property of the Saints in Nauvoo, for the disposal of which A. W. Babbitt, J. L. Heywood and J. S. Fullmer remained in Nauvoo. Though they had still some hopes of being able to sell or lease the Temple and some other property, there was poor encouragement for them to stay there longer, when they saw how little influence for good the governor wielded, and the still rapid disposition of the mob.

The History of Hancock County says:

"After those people (the Saints) left, an entire new class of citizens appeared from all parts of the country and from Europe. * * * In the year 1848, M. Etienne Cabet, a distinguished French communist, conceived the idea of establishing in America an experimental colony of their sect. Accordingly a number of them were landed at New Orleans, who proceeded to establish in Texas what he termed an Icarian Community. But Texas not being deemed suitable, it was decided to remove and settle at Nauvoo. In the spring of 1849, a company of them, to the number of 75 or 100, settled in that city, and during the ten years that followed, continued their organization there, under the presidency and management of their eminent leader. During their stay in that city they increased by accessions to between 500 and 600.

"Without undertaking to state correctly the principles of their organization, we may say that their chief tenet seemed to be a community of property and interests. While their family relations were kept up, each maintaining a separate household, all were required to eat at the same table, and to contribute of his and her labor to the common fund. The children were regarded rather as the wards of the Community than of the parents, and were required to be taught in the same school and with the same care and attention.

"They purchased the Temple Block and the remains of the structure,* and were about to repair it, so as to make it habitable, when a storm blew it down. Afterward, from its ruins, they constructed a long, low stone building, which was used for the school. The Community is said to have been composed mainly of intelligent, moral and industrious men and women, and were well esteemed by their neighbors. They carried on many branches of business, such as farming, the manufacture of flour and lumber, and the various mechanical trades. They also ran a distillery for a period.

"Soon after establishing, they issued a weekly newspaper called the *Popular Tribune*, under the editorship of M. Cabet. This was afterward changed to the *Revue Icarienne*, and was printed partly in French and partly in English. While President Cabet was in Europe, the paper was left in charge of M. Piquenard, a young man who has since been conspicuous as architect of the new State House at Springfield.

"But the Community could not hold together; dissatisfaction arose; and in or about 1857 a considerable body left. In 1859 the concern broke up, most of the members leaving; but a remnant, consisting of less than a hundred persons, held together and re-established in Adams County, Iowa, where the colony still exists.

"These people were nearly all French. On leaving the Community a number of them settled in the county at various points, and are generally regarded as good citizens.

"At the time the Mormons were leaving Nauvoo, a great many persons, influenced by the hope of obtaining cheap property, settled in and around the city. A large portion of those in the city soon afterward left, and their places became gradually filled by foreigners, most of whom came to establish permanent homes, and still remain, a class of industrious, frugal and peaceable citizens. These people brought their Europ-

*The Temple was burned Nov. 19, 1848.

ean habits and customs with them, and Nauvoo to-day (1880) is perhaps more of a German town than any in the country. Beer, the national beverage, flows like water; and the latter, though pure and good, has gone out of fashion.

"The business of grape-growing and wine-making is quite extensively followed by these people, and the city and suburbs are thickly dotted with well-planted and neatly kept vineyards. The business, however, it may be observed, has met with its disappointments, and the golden anticipations of many who entered into it have not been realized."

In the spring of 1849, which was about two years and a half after the last of the Saints left, Nauvoo was again incorporated as a city. From that time until the present, eighteen different men have held the office of mayor. Chancy Robison, the first mayor, is still alive. M. M. Morrill, who took part in the famous battle of Nauvoo, in September, 1846, fighting in the ranks of the defenders, has held the office of mayor at various times for 9½ years. Following is a list of names of all the mayors of the city, with the length of their terms of office from 1849 to 1889, a period of upwards of forty years:

Chancy Robison,	-	1849 to 1850
J. J. Brent,	-	1850 to 1851
W. M. Cosgrove,	-	1851 to 1852
M. S. Carey,	-	1852 to 1853
S. M. Chapman,	-	1853 to 1854
R. W. McKinney,	-	1854 to 1856
Ethan Kimball,	-	1856 to 1857
M. M. Morrill,	-	1857 to 1859
J. B. Icking,	-	1859 to 1860
M. M. Morrill (2nd term)	-	1860 to 1863
J. B. Icking (2nd term)	-	1863 to 1864
J. H. Lienhard,	-	1864 to 1865
M. M. Morrill (3rd term)	-	1865 to 1866
Henry Wiegand,	-	1866 to 1869
C. Knaust,	-	1869 to 1870
August Beger,	-	1870 to 1871
M. M. Morrill (4th term)	-	1871 to 1872
H. Wiegand (2nd term)	-	1872 to 1873
John G. Bratz,	-	1873 to 1874
August Beger (2nd term)	-	1874 to 1875
H. Wiegand (3rd term)	-	1875 to 1877
John U. Bechtold,	-	1877 to 1880
John Tanner,	-	1880 to 1883
W. D. Hibbard,	-	1883 to 1884
J. N. Datin,	-	1884 - 6 months
M. M. Morrill (5th term)	-	1884 to 1887
J. N. Datin (2nd term)	-	1887 to 18—

The author of this article, who visited Nauvoo in October, 1888, fully coincides with the views often expressed by other Elders, who of late years have seen the place where once stood a flourishing and beautiful city, but now an unimportant village, without railway connections or any of the modern improvements of the day. No enterprise has ever prospered in Nauvoo since the enemies of the Saints drove them across the Mississippi River in the hope of expatriating them. Neither the "Jack-Mormons," the Icarians or the present German population have been able to revive that industry and thrift which made the place so famous when the Saints dwelt there.

In conclusion we quote the following from the pen of B. H. Roberts:

"The city of Nauvoo, in its palmy days, was the largest in the State of Illinois, and its prospects under the control of the Saints were the most promising, * * * With a people of industry and enterprise, its future greatness was but a matter of time. Had the Saints been permitted to remain there in peace, none can doubt but that Nauvoo would to-day have been a formidable rival of Chicago, and would have affected the commerce of Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis and other river towns.

"But in the absence of such a population its history, since the Saints left, has been one of decline. The best houses to be seen there at the present time are those built by its founders over forty years ago. As an indication of the almost total lack of commerce and consequent shrinkage of values, it is told that a two-story brick house costing, at the time the Saints were building the city, upwards of \$2,000, was sold last year (1885), with the lot it stands upon, for \$300. Thus under the reign of her spoilers has the beautiful city crumbled to insignificance and decay, from which it may never be redeemed, until it is purged from the stain of guilt which they have put upon it. While the people who once made it the abode of peace are thriving in other lands, made rich and fruitful by their industry, this languishing city awaits their return to recover the lost glory that won for her the proud name, 'Nauvoo the Beautiful.'"

PAPERS AND PERIODICALS,

PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

The Church was about two years and two months old when its first monthly paper, the *EVENING AND MORNING STAR*, was commenced in Independence, Jackson Co., Mo. Two volumes, or 24 numbers, containing altogether 384 pages, were published, partly in Independence and partly in Kirtland, Ohio. It was printed with small type, the printed matter on each page measuring 8½ by 4½ inches. (See page 31.) In connection with it a weekly newspaper called the

UPPER MISSOURI ADVERTISER was published at Independence, Mo., but we have been unable to ascertain how long it existed.

With the September, 1834, number of the *Evening and Morning Star*, that paper was suspended, and in its stead the

Latter-day Saints'

MESSENGER AND ADVOCATE

was commenced. The first number of this monthly periodical was dated Kirtland, Ohio, October, 1834, and it was continued regularly for three years, the last number, bearing date of September, 1837. Three volumes, or 36 numbers, containing altogether 576 pages (16 pages to the number), were published. The size of the printed matter on each page was 8½ by 4½ inches—a trifle smaller than the *Evening and Morning Star*. The subscription price was \$1 per annum. The first eight numbers were edited by Oliver Cowdery and published by F. G. Williams & Co. The next ten numbers were edited by John Whitmer; F. G. Williams & Co. continuing as publishers. After this, Oliver Cowdery again resumed his editorial labors, commencing with No. 7, Vol. 2, and he also became the publisher; but after a short time, when others associated themselves with him, the paper was published by Oliver Cowdery & Co. This latter arrangement continued until Feb. 1, 1837, when Oliver Cowdery & Co. dissolved partnership, and Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon became the proprietors of the paper and printing office. Warren A. Cowdery was then appointed editor. Only two num-

bers (Nos. 5 and 6, Vol. 3) had been issued under this arrangement, when the paper, through legal process, passed into the hands of Wm. Marks & Co., of Portage, Alleghany Co., New York, who then, by power of attorney, appointed Smith and Rigdon their agents. After this change the paper was continued until September, 1837, W. A. Cowdery having charge of the editorial department until the periodical was suspended. The

NORTHERN TIMES

was a weekly newspaper, edited by F. G. Williams in Kirtland, Ohio, in favor of Democracy. It was commenced in February, 1835, but we do not know how long it continued.

The *Messenger and Advocate* being discontinued, a new monthly paper was commenced in Kirtland in its stead called the

ELDERS' JOURNAL.

It was the same size as its predecessor, the printed matter on each page (two columns) measuring 8½ by 4½ inches. The first number was dated October, 1837. It was "edited by Joseph Smith, and published by Thomas B. Marsh," but Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of the Prophet, took immediate charge of the printing establishment. The subscription price was \$1 per annum. After the November (1837) number had been issued, the printing office in Kirtland was destroyed by fire, in consequence of which the publication of the *Journal* ceased for the time being, and it was not until July, 1838, that No. 3 made its appearance at Far West, Mo. Only one more number, dated August, 1838, was published at Far West, as the paper was suspended in consequence of the persecutions. On the night that Far West was surrounded by General Lucas' mob militia, the type was buried in Brother Dawson's yard in Far West, and there it remained until the spring of 1839, when it was dug up and removed to Commerce, Hancock County, Ill., afterwards to be used for the publication of the *Times and Seasons*. Thus only four numbers of the *Journal* (2 in Kirtland, Ohio, and 2 in Far West, Mo.) were published.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD is published by ANDREW JENSON, Salt Lake City, Utah. Subscription price, \$2.00 per annum. If paid strictly in advance, \$1.25.

Office and P. O. Address: No. 154 N. Second West Street, Salt Lake City.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

"What thou seest, write in a book." REV. 1, 11.

Nos. 4-6

JUNE, 1889.

VOL. VIII.

THE BATTLE OF NAUVOO.

In the summer of 1846, while many of the Saints who had started westward from Nauvoo were pursuing their toilsome journey; while others were engaged in establishing temporary settlements and making farms in the wild and unreclaimed districts of the western frontiers (now parts of Iowa and Nebraska) for the accommodation of their brethren who should follow; while five hundred of their most able and serviceable men were responding to the call of the government and leaving their families destitute to march as soldiers to Mexico; and while all were suffering from the hardships and exposure which they, from their circumstances, were forced to endure, hostilities were renewed against those of the Saints who were left behind at Nauvoo. They were generally of the poorest class—persons who had not sufficient means to furnish themselves with teams and the necessary outfit to commence the journey, although they were all anxious to go and their labors were constantly directed to effect that end. Their enemies knew this, and knew also that by continuing their violence the Saints would be retarded in their

preparations to leave. As if this fact stimulated them to be more determined in their vile efforts than ever, they sought by every means in their power to harass them and cause them to abandon their homes without receiving any compensation for their property, or means with which to migrate. In commenting upon the state of affairs which there existed, the *Hancock Eagle*, a paper published in Nauvoo at that time, used the following language:

"In calmly reflecting upon the condition to which this country has been reduced by a gang of ruffians, who style themselves 'Regulators,' one is almost forced to the conclusion that we are living in a land over which a free government has not shed its blessed influence. Here, in one of the most fertile regions that the sun ever shone upon—in a district of country that has been settled for twenty years, and in the midst of an enlightened community, the families of worthy and respectable American citizens are as much harassed by the terrors of violence, as if they resided in a wilderness and were daily subject to an assault from savages."

Nor were the Saints the only ones who suffered from the annoyance and persecutions of the self-styled "Regulators." The new citizens—those who had recently purchased property and settled in Nauvoo, especially those who were at all friend-

ly to or sympathized with the Saints, were subjected, more or less, to the same threats of extermination and the same jeopardy of life and property.

July 11, 1846, while John Hill, Archibald N. Hill, Caleb W. Lyons, James W. Huntsman, Gardiner Curtis, John Richards, Elisha Mallory and J. W. D. Phillips were engaged in harvesting wheat in a field about 12 miles from Nauvoo, they were surrounded by an armed mob, who completely hemmed them in, thereby preventing their escape, and then ransacked their wagons for their fire-arms. After taking from them every weapon they had, the mob sent to the woods for some long hickory switches. Then taking the defenseless men one at a time they forced them to assume a stooping posture in a ditch, while each of them received 20 lashes across the back with the switches wielded by one of the mob party. As there were but eight of the brethren, they were so completely in the power of these merciless creatures they could not do otherwise than submit to the torture. The mob then smashed four of their guns to pieces over a stump and returned the fragments to them, while they retained the rest of the guns and pistols. The brethren were then ordered with an oath to get into their carriages and drive for Nauvoo, and not look back, and the mob fired a parting shot at them as they did so.

Several of the mob engaged in the affair were recognized, and two of them named McAuley and Brattle were soon afterwards arrested. Following this movement, and in retaliation for the arrest of these men, five of the brethren—Phineas H. Young, Brigham H. Young, Richard

Ballantyne, James Standing and James Herring—were pounced upon by a party of the mob while near Pontoosug, a town situated about eleven miles northeast of Nauvoo, and forcibly taken into custody. When asked by what authority they acted, the mob replied, pointing their guns at their prisoners, that their weapons constituted their authority. It was sufficient offense for them to be "Mormons." They were taken into the town of Pontoosuc, where they were met by fifty more armed men. There they were informed that they were accused of no crime, but that they would be held as hostages for the safety of McAuley and Brattle, who had been arrested by the citizens of Nauvoo for lynching the brethren, as before described.

Some of the men engaged in making this last arrest were also engaged in the lynching affair, and as if their guilty consciences were smiting them for their evil deeds, they were continually imagining that the friends of their prisoners were on their track. They accordingly hurried them from one place to another, traveling a great deal in the night. Sometimes, when halting for a short time, fear would come upon them, and they would again take up their hurried flight, through woods, thickets and marshes, urging their prisoners on at times by goading them with the points of their bayonets, and this too when they were almost fainting from sickness and fatigue. Once the mob were on the point of shooting their prisoners, and had even cocked and pointed their guns at them, when the alarm was sounded by one of their party that the "Mormons" were on their trail and

it would not do to make a noise, when they again took up their flight. At another time, when the prisoners asked for water to quench their thirst, the mob tried to poison them by giving them liquor containing poison, of which, however, only one of their number, Brigham H. Young, drank. From the effect it immediately had upon him, the brethren were convinced that he was poisoned, but after having laid their hands upon his head and invoked the blessing of God upon him, he was soon sufficiently recovered to resume his march with a little assistance from the others. The mob evidently believed that all of their prisoners had partaken of their drugged liquor, as they afterwards expressed their impatience at their tenacity of life so loudly that the brethren overheard them. After openly consulting upon and attempting one or two other plans of disposing of their prisoners without boldly facing and shooting them, it was finally decided to adopt the latter plan, and the brethren were ordered to form in line to be shot. At this juncture Phineas H. Young plead with the mob to spare the lives of his brethren, and offered his own life if they would only do so. The delay occasioned by this appeal saved their lives, as just then one of the mob party came riding up and reported the "Mormons" 350 strong coming upon them; and again the prisoners were hurried off. After being held captive for twelve days, with very little food, and suffering from exposure and sickness, the brethren grew desperate and determined on attempting an escape, however great the hazard, if their guard could not be prevailed upon to let them go. They made a final appeal,

and the guards were sufficiently moved by it to allow them to go and even aid them in getting back to their homes.

When it was learned at Nauvoo that the above-named brethren had been kidnapped, writs were issued and a call made for a *posse* to go and arrest the kidnappers and rescue the prisoners. This company was under the command of William Anderson and William L. Cutler. They succeeded in arresting 15 of the kidnappers, and found some of the property belonging to the men who had been kidnapped, but could not find them. Another company was raised at Nauvoo for the same purpose, and put under the command of William E. Clifford. These movements excited the mob, and they circulated all manner of false rumors throughout Hancock and the adjoining counties respecting the intentions of the "Mormons," and used all their influence to get the surrounding counties to help them to drive the "Mormons" and "Jack Mormons," as they called those who were friendly to law and order, from the State.

"Another cause of excitement in the county," writes George Q. Cannon, "was the part taken by the Saints residing there, in the election. When the Twelve Apostles left Nauvoo they gave particular counsel that the Saints should take no part in politics or interfere in the elections, as such a course would have a tendency to exasperate the mob, and cause them to commence hostilities upon the defenceless and poor who were left behind, and to stop the sale of property by preventing the influx of new citizens into Nauvoo to make purchases. This counsel was neglected, and its neglect, besides

producing bad feeling, was productive of no good result, for the opposite party beat the party for which the Saints voted in the county by a majority of several hundreds. It is said, however, that this was done by making false returns.

"Levi Williams, who led the mob which murdered the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum at Carthage Jail, and who professed to be a Baptist minister, was very active in instigating the mob and giving them all the aid in his power. The mob succeeded in getting out writs for several new citizens who were objectionable to them, and tried to get them in their power for the purpose of murdering them, but failed to do so. The new citizens of Nauvoo held a meeting August 12, 1846, at which a report was made by the committee who waited upon the mob that had gathered at the house of Levi Williams, at Green Plains, to induce them to return peaceably to their homes. This committee stated that the utter recklessness and want of courtesy exhibited by the anti-Mormons precluded all hopes of treating with them. Several speeches were made and a committee of five appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. These resolutions set forth the threats of the mob to the effect, that if the new settlers of Nauvoo did not drive the Saints from said city across the Mississippi on or before the 10th of September following, they themselves would do so with their own hands in the most violent manner; also that the new settlers would not acknowledge the right of the anti-Mormon party to interfere with them or with their policy, also that they (the new settlers) still contin-

ued to place implicit confidence in the 'Mormon' people and the pledges given by them relative to their departure for the West that season.

"A man by the name of John Carlin was illegally appointed a constable by a justice of the peace, and he tried to raise a *posse* to go to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting, upon illegally-issued writs, certain new citizens who had been wrongfully accused of crime. This was a mere pretext for the purpose of creating difficulty and driving the Saints from the city. Mr. William E. Clifford, who was president of the trustees of the town of Nauvoo, but was not a Latter-day Saint, wrote and sent a letter by express to Governor Ford for assistance to protect the town against the mob. The governor sent Major James R. Parker, of the Illinois militia, to Nauvoo, and gave him instructions, that, in case of an attack on the city, he was to take command of such volunteers as might offer themselves, free of cost to the State, to repel it and to defend the city. In some correspondence between Parker and Carlin, the latter said that he would treat him and his officers as a mob, if they attempted to molest him. In the meantime he was doing all in his power to raise an armed force to aid him in executing his pretended writs. Parker issued several proclamations, in one of which he declared Hancock County in a state of civil war. In this proclamation he said:

"Nothing is more absurd than the idea that an armed force is necessary to execute civil process in Nauvoo. I hold myself in readiness to aid in executing warrants issued for the apprehension of any person in this place, or in any other part of the coun-

ty, so soon as [the armed force now assembled under pretence of a constable's *posse* shall have been disbanded.]

"General James W. Singleton, of Brown County, took the chief command of the mob. He was assisted by J. B. Chittenden, of Adams County; N. Montgomery, of McDonough County; James King, of Schuyler County; J. H. Sherman, of Hancock County; and Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County. Major Parker wrote to Singleton, the mob commander, for the purpose of effecting a compromise; to which Singleton replied. Parker again wrote, stating that the conditions were under consideration, and soliciting an interview with such persons as Singleton might name to agree upon the articles of settlement. Articles of agreement were drawn up, requiring all the Saints to leave within 60 days, and were signed in behalf of the anti-Mormons by some of the parties above named, and by Major Parker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Edmonds of Nauvoo. Instead of Parker defending the city and resisting the attack of the mob, as he should have done, he treated them as his equals, and made a treaty with them, agreeing to their terms and signing the agreement in his official capacity.

"But the mob were not satisfied with these terms. Sixty days were too long for them to wait. Besides it was not the removal of the Saints they wanted—it was their blood. They wanted an opportunity to murder, to rob and to indulge in general violence. Singleton, when he found what a temper his officers and men were in, resigned his position as their leader; Chittenden also resigned. Singleton wrote to Smith,

Reynolds and Parker, stating that the mob had rejected the articles they had signed, which he thought were as fair as any reasonable or feeling man could ask the "Mormons" to do, and they must therefore consider him no longer connected with the mob camp in its future proceedings.

"Carlin immediately appointed Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County, to be leader of his party, who made "a soul-stirring speech to them," and gave orders to march. The mob themselves reported their number to be seven hundred, with many baggage wagons and every way prepared for a campaign; but it was believed they numbered over a thousand. Many of the new citizens of Nauvoo, feeling the danger was fast approaching, and expecting a general massacre, left the city for other parts. The remaining citizens, what few were fit for duty, prepared for the worst; but the larger proportion of those belonging to the Church were sick and destitute and included many women and children.

"'Old Tom,' as Brockman called himself, no sooner had taken command, than he gave orders for marching. At about half-past 9 on the morning of September 10th, the watchmen, posted on the tower of the Temple, discovered the mob approaching Nauvoo on the Carthage road. The instruction of the governor of the State to Major Parker had been to organize the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves. Four companies of volunteers had been organized. When it was known that the mobbers under Brockman were marching towards the city, these companies were ordered to march out and meet them. By noon they

had reached a copse of timber on the Carthage road, when John Wood, Esq., mayor of Quincy, Major Flood, Dr. Conyers and Messrs. Joel Rice and Benjamin Clifford, jun., also of Quincy, arrived at Nauvoo. The governor had given a commission to Major Flood to raise forces in Adams County for the protection of Nauvoo. These gentlemen were all indignant at the villainous conduct of the mob towards an oppressed and defenceless community. They were anxious, however, to avert the shedding of blood, and Mayor Wood proposed that they proceed to the mob camp and learn if there was any prospect of a compromise. Accordingly they repaired there in a carriage, and had an interview with Carlin and Brockman. That the reader may have a correct idea of the feelings and aims of the scoundrels composing the mob, we will give the proposals of Carlin and Brockman in full:

“September 10, 1846.

“It is proposed, on behalf of the anti-Mormon forces assembled, camped in the vicinity of Nauvoo, by the officers in council:

“1st—That the writs in the hands of John Carlin shall be served, if the individuals against whom they exist, can be found.

“2nd—The Mormons shall all give up their arms to some gentleman, to be agreed on by the parties, and any gun or other weapons shall be returned to the owner, whenever the owner of said gun has *bona fide* left the State with his goods and chattels.

“3rd—The anti-Mormon forces shall be permitted to march peaceably through the city, we pledging ourselves to molest neither person nor property, unless attacked, in which case we will defend ourselves as best we can.

“4th—The Mormons shall leave the State in thirty days.

“5th—The anti-Mormons shall station a force at their discretion in the city, to see that the above terms are complied with.

“JOHN CARLIN,

“THOMAS S. BROCKMAN.

“In behalf of the officers in camp.”

“Carlin had been illegally appointed as a special constable to serve a writ on a supposed criminal. This was the only service it was claimed that he had to perform. But what a change had now taken place! He had become a dictator and claimed the exercise of more despotic power than any king could wield. He had not only called out soldiers by the hundreds from Hancock, the only county in which he could pretend to any jurisdiction as a constable, but from all the surrounding counties. Majors, colonels and other officers were summoned by him. And all this for the purpose of forming a posse to serve a constable's writ in Hancock. At the head of these forces which he had thus summoned he dictated terms to a city, threatening the people with his vengeance unless they complied with them. A so-called constable demanding the arms of the people under pains and penalties, and insisting on expelling them from their homes and from the State, because, forsooth, they were ‘Mormons!’ This was one of the most outrageous proceedings ever attempted.

“Carlin, ‘Old Tom’ and their mob manifested but little respect for the Quincy gentlemen, after giving them the terms upon which they would make a compromise, for, as they returned to Nauvoo the mob fired several cannon balls over their heads. Major Flood had seen enough to satisfy him probably that it would be unpopular with the mob to defend or protect Nauvoo, so he declined to accept the commission of the governor to raise forces in Adams County for that purpose, but as he was empowered to transfer the commission to some citizens of Adams County,

"Carlin had been illegally appointed as a special constable to serve a writ on a supposed criminal. This was the only service it was claimed that he had to perform. But what a change had now taken place! He had become a dictator and claimed the exercise of more despotic power than any king could wish. He had not only called out soldiers by the hundreds from Hancock, the only county in which he could pretend to any jurisdiction as a constable, but from all the surrounding counties. Majors, colonels and other officers were summoned by him. And all this for the purpose of forming a posse to serve a constable's writ in Hancock. At the head of these forces, which he had so shamelessly dictated terms to a city, threatening the people with his vengeance unless they complied with them. A so-called constable demanding the arms of the people under pain of penalties and treating as rebels those who refused to surrender their arms and from the State because, forsooth, they were 'rebels.' This was not the most outrageous proceedings ever attempted.

"Carlin, 'Old Tom' and their mob manifested but little respect for the Quincy gentlemen, after giving them the terms upon which they would make a compromise, for, as they returned to Navvor the mob fired several cannon balls over their heads. Major Flood had seen enough to satisfy him probably that it would be unwise to quarrel with the mob, and he decided to protect Navvor, so he decided to accept the commission of the governor to raise forces in Adams County for that purpose, but as he was empowered to transfer the commission to some citizen of Adams County,

had reached a copse of timber on the Castage road, when John Wood, Esq., mayor of Quincy, Major Flood, Dr. Coverts and Messrs. Joel Rice and Benjamin Clifton, Jun., also of Quincy, arrived at Navvor. The governor had given a commission to Major Flood to raise forces in Adams County for the protection of Navvor. These gentlemen were all indignant at the villainous conduct of the mob towards an oppressed and defenceless community. They were anxious, however, to avoid the shedding of blood, and Major Wood proposed that they proceed to the mob camp and learn if there was any prospect of a compromise. Accordingly they repaired there in a stage, and had an interview with Carlin and Brockman. That the reader may have a correct idea of the feelings and aims of the seceders composing the mob, we will give the proposals of Carlin and Brockman in full:

"September 15, 1861.

"It is proposed, on behalf of the anti-Mormon forces assembled, camped in the vicinity of Navvor, by the officers in council:

"1st—That the writ in the hands of John Carlin shall be served, if the individuals against whom it exists, can be found.

"2nd—The Mormons shall give up their arms to some gentleman to be agreed on by the parties; and say gun or other weapons shall be returned to the owner, whenever the owner or said gun has been left the State with his goods and effects.

"3rd—The anti-Mormon forces shall be permitted to march peacefully through the city, we pledging ourselves to molest neither person nor property, unless attacked, in which case we will defend ourselves as best we can.

"4th—The Mormons shall leave the State in thirty days.

"5th—The anti-Mormon shall station a force at their discretion in the city, to see that the above terms are complied with.

"JOHN CARLIN,

"BROCKMAN,

"In behalf of the officers in camp."

he did so, and it was accepted by Benjamin Clifford, jun., of Quincy. Clifford then took command of the volunteers. Under him Charles M. Johnson continued to act, as he had under Parker, as colonel of the volunteers. Wm. L. Cutler acted as lieutenant-colonel and Wm. Anderson as aide-de-camp. The first, second, third and fourth companies were under Captains Andrew L. Lamoreaux, Alexander McRae, Hiram Gates and Curtis E. Bolton. The next day William Anderson, having received permission, proceeded to choose a band of select men for flankers and sharpshooters. They were called the Spartan Band and were principally armed with repeating rifles. They organized at President D. H. Wells', who was then known as Esquire Wells, because of his being a magistrate, and who took a very active and prominent part in the defence of Nauvoo. Wm. Anderson was chosen first and Alexander McRae second captain. Curtis E. Bolton also joined this band.

"The mob had artillery, and seemed to be well supplied with ammunition of all kinds. For the want of other enemies to fire at, they, in passing corn-fields on both sides of the road, fired their grape and canister shot into them; they made great havoc in cutting down cornstalks. There was no artillery in Nauvoo and it was felt to be greatly needed. Two steamboat shafts, which had lain for years on the banks of the Mississippi River, were found. These shafts were hollow, and it suggested itself to some of the citizens that by cutting them in two, and plugging up one of the ends of each piece with iron fastened in its place by wrought-iron bolts and made

tight by filling up with spelter, a rude but effective kind of cannon might be manufactured. The plan was deemed feasible, and four of this kind of cannon were soon made ready for service. There were probably some fears felt as to whether they would answer the purpose or not, and the first discharge from them was doubtless watched with considerable interest. They might, after all the trouble, burst upon the first discharge. It was no time, however, for nervousness. The mob forces were at the people's doors, and they had to defend themselves against their attacks with such means as were at their command. But the shafts did good service. They stood the fire excellently, and they were the means of intimidating the mob and keeping them at bay. They had expected to make Nauvoo an easy prey, for they knew there was no artillery there. When, therefore, they heard the cannon, they did not know what the sound meant. The "Mormons" were better prepared for defence than they imagined them to be.

"Major Flood did not show his commission to 'Old Tom' Brockman when he was at the mob camp. Mayor Wood and Joel Rice, therefore, walked out there again and read the commission that Brockman might know that he was fighting forces which had been raised by the governor's order. But neither he nor his forces cared for the governor or his orders. They were resolved to drive the people from Nauvoo, and they drew nearer and nearer, advancing in solid columns against the city. There was naturally great anxiety felt by the people of the city. Major Parker, when he left, gave them

reasons to hope that recruits would be sent, by the governor, to their relief. But no reinforcements came, and it became evident that they must rely upon their own resources."

Friday, Sept. 11, 1846, the mob steadily but cautiously advanced towards the city, taking great care to select the places of marching, as they were afraid of secret mines. Their cannon loaded with grape and canister were fired at the companies of volunteers who were endeavoring to check their advance. They fired three rounds at Esquire Wells' house, where his family was at the time. One of the shot tore up some brick at his well; another struck near his barn, and the third passed over his house, just missing a young man who was sitting there watching their movements. William Gheen and his party, who had charge of a cannon, succeeded in checking their advance somewhat, and though the mob made several attempts to outflank the volunteers they were unsuccessful. The missiles which were fired from Captain Gheen's cannon, as well as the others, consisted principally of old irons and bar lead, cut and put into small sacks. At one or two points the mob forces were repulsed and driven back. Several families (some of whose members were sick), living in the east part of the city of Nauvoo, had to vacate their premises hastily, for the mob cannon balls passed their doors and struck in their lots. They fled and left everything in their houses. In the evening, after the firing had ceased, they returned with teams to their dwellings, and removed their clothes, etc.; but their furniture was mostly left.

On Saturday, the 12th, a flag of

truce was brought into the city with the following communication:

"To the Commander of the Mormon forces in Nauvoo:

"SIR—The forces under my command, assembled as a *posse comitatus*, now encamped within half a mile of your city, are determined to enter the same by force unless a surrender be immediately made.

"From motives of humanity I am prompted to give you an opportunity to save the destruction of life and property.

"You can surrender on the following terms.

"1st—Deliver up your arms to our charge, to be returned as soon as your people shall have left the State.

"2nd—The army under my command to enter the city without molestation—for the purpose of making arrests, the men having pledged themselves to me individually and severally, not to destroy life or property unless under my command; and I pledge myself to you that, if you surrender, no property shall be destroyed or life taken, unless absolutely necessary in self defence.

"If you see proper to surrender you can signify the same by nine o'clock this morning; if not, the consequences be upon your own head.

"THOMAS S. BROCKMAN,
Commander-in-chief of *posse* assembled by
JOHN CARLIN, Hancock County, Ill."

To which the following reply was made and sent back in about two hours:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ILL. VOL. CAMP,
NAUVOO, Sept. 12th, 9½ a. m.
"To Thomas S. Brockman,

Commander of Forces near this place:

"SIR—Your communication of the 12th inst., sent in my camp this moment under flag of truce, is before me; and after due deliberation I reply; inasmuch as there is no commander here of Mormon forces, I take the liberty to answer your letter.

"I am commissioned by the governor and commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia to disperse your forces in the name of the people of Illinois.

"Your proposition, directed to the commander of the Mormons, can not be complied with. While I deprecate the shedding of blood, even in upholding the laws of our State, I am determined to carry out the instructions of the Executive of the State of Illinois. So far I have acted on the defensive, and for the sake of humanity, if for no other purpose, I hope you will at once see

the propriety and justice of dispersing your forces. The armed force under your command is not necessary for any lawful purpose in this city or county.

"There are a number of highly respectable gentlemen in this city from abroad, who are desirous that there should be no bloodshed. Among them I would name the Honorable John Wood, mayor of the city of Quincy, and J. P. Eddy, Esq., merchant of St. Louis, Mo. They will be the bearers of this communication.

"Any proposition which you may be pleased to make, tending to avoid the taking of life, will be considered.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN CLIFFORD, JUN.

Major Commander Ill. Militia."

The citizens of Nauvoo had remained during the night at the points most likely to be attacked, and had occupied the time in erecting breastworks. Major Clifford occupied Beach's tavern as his headquarters; and Colonel Johnson, who commanded in the field, being sick, the command in the field devolved upon Lieut. Colonel Wm. E. Cutler, with Daniel H. Wells as his aid. After the mob had received Clifford's reply, they commenced the attack with a good deal of vigor, and cannonading, and firing on both sides was very brisk. Captain Anderson, of the Spartan Band, who had displayed great bravery throughout the entire fight was shot in the breast by a musket ball. He lived fifteen minutes, and his last words were those of encouragement to his men. He exclaimed as he was hit, "I am wounded; take my gun and shoot on." His son Augustus L. Anderson was struck by a cannon ball, which hit him in the side and broke his arm. He lived only a few moments. He was aged fourteen years, and was the first person shot while fighting, as he previously remarked he would do, for his mother. The

command of the Spartan Band, after the death of Captain Anderson, devolved upon Captains Alexander McRae and Almon L. Fullmer. Hiram Kimball was slightly wounded on the head by a splinter. David Norris was killed by a cannon ball, which passed through his shoulder, Benjamin Whitehead was shot in the leg, and John C. Campbell in the foot. Curtis E. Bolton was also hit by a bullet, which, however, did not penetrate the flesh.

Doctors Berry and Charles, of Warsaw, who were surgeons in Mr. Brockman's Camp, reported twelve mobbers wounded in the engagement, namely, "John Kennedy, of Augusta, in the shoulder; Jefferson Welsh, of McDonough County, in the thigh; Mr. Rogers, of Adams County, thigh and hip; Uriah Thompson, of Fountain Green, in arm; Mr. Humphreys, of Hancock County, in the thigh severely, and died ten hours afterward; George Wier, Warsaw, in the neck; Captain Robert F. Smith, who commanded the First Regiment, slightly in the neck; Mr. Crooks, of Chili, in the head slightly; Mr. Winsor, of Nauvoo, in the back, while loading; Mr. Denny, of Green Plains, at camp guard; Dr. Geiger, of Nauvoo, in camp; and Mr. Stinson, of Brown County, in the thigh."

The *Warsaw Signal*, a bitter mobocratic paper, said that the mobbers' reason for retreating was that their cannon balls were exhausted, and their commander deeming it imprudent to risk any further advance without these, ordered the men to be drawn off; but, if their cannon balls had held out ten minutes longer they believed they would have taken the city. They stated that they had about five hundred men and four

pieces of artillery engaged in the action; and they thought there was not on record an instance of a longer continued militia fight than occurred on that day. The *Signal* gave the "Mormons" the credit of having stood their ground manfully. Considering how few there were to defend Nauvoo, and the character of the artillery which they had manufactured, the defence was very remarkable. The success which attended the efforts of the citizens to repulse the enemy was due to their bravery and the energy and zeal of their commanders, as well as to the fear which the mob had of the "Mormons."

On Sunday, the 13th, there was considerable skirmishing, and the *Warsaw Signal* reported one anti-Mormon badly wounded. After dusk the citizens of Nauvoo advanced with two of their cannon and fired into the mob camp and caused them to scatter. At the second discharge one of the cannon, as the steamboat shafts were called, burst into thirteen pieces without injuring anyone.

On the 14th there was some cannonading during the day, and the people of Nauvoo repaired and extended their batteries.

On the 15th the Spartan Band and the "kill-devils," as a band composed principally of new citizens was called, kept so strict a watch on the movements of the mob that they could not go to water their horses without being saluted by rifleshots. Occasionally a few rounds from the cannon were fired that day.

Several gentlemen from Quincy were in the tower of the Temple, in Nauvoo, watching the progress of the fight on Saturday the 12th. Immediately after the battle, Mayor

Wood and Mr. Rice started for Quincy, called a meeting of the people, and gave an account of what had taken place in Nauvoo. It was decided that a committee of one hundred citizens of Quincy should go to settle the difficulties in Hancock County. They arrived in Nauvoo on the 15th. The ostensible object in coming was to prevent the shedding of blood; but their friendship for the citizens of Nauvoo was not real. They were the strongest anti-Mormons that could be found in Adams County. On that account Messrs. Wood and Rice, with several others, refused to act as members of that committee. These people brought their fire-arms with them, which they took great pains to conceal, and it was understood that if they did not succeed in making the compromise, they intended to join the mob. Only a part of them came into Nauvoo, as sub-committees were appointed to transact the business.

On the 16th the mob commenced cannonading. A compromise was, however, in progress. A lengthy correspondence was going on between the sub-committees of the Quincy committee, the mob camp, Major Clifford and the Church trustees, which resulted in the following:

"Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into this 16th of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer, trustees-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the *posse*, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the *posse* of Hancock County, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

"1st—The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock p. m.

pieces of artillery engaged in the action; and they thought there was not on record an instance of a longer continued militia fight than occurred on that day. The signal gave the "Mormons," the credit of having stood their ground manfully. Considering how few there were to defend Kanoo, and the character of the artillery which they had manfactured, the defence was very remarkable. The success which attended the efforts of the citizens to repulse the enemy was due to their bravery and the energy and zeal of their commanders, as well as to the fear which the mob had of the "Mormons."

On Sunday, the 18th, there was considerable skirmishing, and the Warsaw Signal reported one killed. Mormon badly wounded. After dark the citizens of Kanoo advanced with two of their cannon and fired into the mob camp and caused them to scatter. At the second discharge one of the cannon, as the steamboat wharves were called, burst into three pieces without injuring anyone.

On the 14th there was some cannon-ading during the day, and the people of Kanoo repaired and extended their batteries.

On the 15th the Spartan Band and the "kill-devils," as a band composed principally of new citizens was called, kept so strict a watch on the movements of the mob that they could not go to water their horses without being noticed by riflemen. Occasionally a few rounds from the cannon were fired that day.

Several gentlemen from Quincy were in the fort of the Temple, in Kanoo, watching the progress of the fight on Saturday the 17th. Immediately after the battle, Mayor

Wood and Mr. Woodruff for Quincy, called a meeting of the people, and gave an account of what had taken place in Kanoo. It was decided that a committee of one hundred citizens of Quincy should go to settle the difficulties in Hancock County. They arrived in Kanoo on the 15th. The ostensible object in coming was to prevent the shedding of blood; but their friendship for the citizens of Kanoo was not real. They were the strongest anti-Mormons that could be found in Adams County. On that account Messrs. Wood and Rice, with several others, refused to act as members of that committee. These people brought their fire-arms with them, which they took great pains to conceal, and it was understood that if they did not succeed in making the compromise, they intended to join the mob. Only a part of them came into Kanoo, as sub-committees were appointed to transact the business.

On the 16th the mob commenced cannonading. A compromise was, however, in progress. A lengthy correspondence was going on between the sub-committees of the Quincy committee, the mob camp, Major Clifford and the Church trustees, which resulted in the following:

"Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement made and entered into this 16th of September, A. D. 1856, between James W. Haggitt, Joseph L. Hayward and John S. Palmer, trustees-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part—Thomas E. Byrnes, commander of the posse, and John Carlin, speaker of the posse and civil head of the posse of Hancock County, of the second part—and Amos Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

"1st—The city of Kanoo will surrender the houses of Colonel Byrnes to enter and take possession of the city by-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock P. M.

"2nd—The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

"3rd—The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

"4th—The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

"5th—The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

"6th—Five men, including the trustees of the Church (William Pickett not one of the number), to be permitted to remain in the city, for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

"7th—Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of the duty as soon as they think proper.

"We, the undersigned, subscribe to ratify and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year above written.

"ANDREW JOHNSON,

Chairman of the Committee of Quincy.

"THOS. S. BROCKMAN, Commanding *Posse*.

"JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.

"A. W. BABBITT, } Trustees-in-trust for the
"J. L. HEYWOOD, } Church of Jesus Christ
"J. S. FULLMER, } of Latter-day Saints."

When many of the volunteers learned that articles of agreement had been agreed upon between the trustees and the mob for the surrender of the city, that the mob forces were to occupy it, the "Mormons" to deliver up their arms and leave as soon as they could cross the river, they felt very enraged. In discussing the affair at Beach's tavern, Squire Wells, who overheard their remarks, expostulated with them, and said:

"There is no use in the small handful of volunteers trying to defend the city against such an overwhelming force. What interest have the Saints to expect from its defence? Our interests are not identified with it, but in getting away from it. Who could urge the propriety of exposing life to defend a place for the purpose of vacating it? I have been in the councils of Joseph and Hyrum and the Twelve, and I know they

were desirous that the Saints should leave the State and go westward. Have not the Twelve and most of the Church gone, and is not their counsel for us to follow? Have not they told us that our safety was not in Nauvoo, but in our removal westward?

"The trustees have no means with which to carry on the defence; they are already involved. Major Parker, who was sent by the governor to aid us, when he left, promised to raise men and return immediately to our assistance, but he has forsaken us, and is it not well known that the Quincy Committee was prepared to join the mob, if a treaty was not effected? Under these circumstances, I have thrown in my influence with the trustees for the surrender of Nauvoo upon the best terms we could get, and as being the best and only wise policy left for us to pursue.

"Brethren, reflect, we have nothing to gain in defending Nauvoo, but everything to lose; not only property, but life also, is hourly in peril."

Esquire Wells had but recently joined the Church; but he had been a prominent man in the affairs of Nauvoo from the time of the organization of the city, and had been intimate with the Prophet Joseph, President Young and the Twelve Apostles. This, and his distinguished gallantry in helping to defend the city, gave him influence among the people, and his counsels and words had great weight with them.

Mr. Brayman, agent of the governor of Illinois, upon hearing the treaty read, declared that it surpassed anything of the kind that he had ever read or heard of. He knew the volunteers were acting under the orders of the governor, and yet they were overpowered by the mob and forced to agree to terms of banishment to save the lives of themselves and their families. There were women and children also there, some of whose husbands and fathers were in the United States army, and had started for California on foot, over pathless deserts and mountains,

to plant their country's flag in distant lands. To see their wives, children and friends driven from their homes by a bloodthirsty mob, caused Mr. Brayman to shed tears. There were others also from different parts of the Union who were eye-witnesses of these outrages, who were similarly affected at the sight.

As soon as the treaty was effected, the volunteers were disbanded, and made preparations to vacate the city. Some went up the river, others down, while a few crossed over to Iowa as fast as they could. About 3 o'clock on the 17th of September the mob forces, numbering over fifteen hundred, marched into the city. They camped at the foot of the hill near Parley Street. Speeches were made to them, and some of them screamed and yelled like savages. The chairman of the Quincy Committee took possession of the keys of the Temple; but the mob paid no attention to the treaty, and the Quincy Committee, had they been so disposed, had not the force to compel them to regard it. No sooner had they encamped than a company was dispatched to search the wagons that were on the bank of the river, and they took all the guns and pistols they could find. The houses of Brothers Fullmer and Heywood were entered, and everything in the shape of arms and ammunition was seized, and their families threatened. Parties of armed men roamed around town ordering families to leave at short notice. Even the sick were treated with cruelty, and families were molested while burying their dead. The mob went through the Temple, up to the dome of the tower, and rung the bell, yelling and shouting, some of them inquiring, "Who

is the keeper of the Lord's House now?" A preacher, who was in the mob, ascended the top of the tower, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "Peace! Peace! Peace! to the inhabitants of the earth, now the Mormons are driven!"

The mob forces held their headquarters at the Temple. They established a sort of a court at which the right of several of the inhabitants, who were not "Mormons," to citizenship was tried. Some of these people, with their families, were ordered forth in two hours. This mob company went from house to house plundering cow-yards, pig-pens, hen-roosts, bee-stands, bursting open trunks and chests, and taking everything they wanted without stopping to inquire whether the plunder belonged to the "Mormons" or not. Several of the Saints, including Charles Lambert, Daniel Davis, Silas Condit and some others, were seized by the mob and baptized in the river. The mobbers thus engaged used the most blasphemous language, while their companions stood swearing and yelling on the bank. They also seized Colonel C. M. Johnson, led him to the Temple, tried him by court-martial and passed sentence of death upon him; but they disagreed about the manner of his execution, and finally ordered him to leave the city. W. E. Clifford, in alluding to what had occurred in Nauvoo, wrote:

"When the mob marched into and took possession of Nauvoo, I proceeded to Burlington. I returned to Montrose in ten days, and remained two weeks, not being permitted to enter Nauvoo. I find cases of suffering and destitution at which I shudder. The poor, the sick and the infirm on the banks of the Mississippi; some with nothing but God's canopy for a shelter, no food but what they received at the hands of

charity, and this, too, in a government that is called republic, the constitution of which guarantees to every one his just and equal rights."

Several articles appeared in the St. Louis papers describing, in eloquent and heart-touching language, the condition of the Saints, on the bank of the Mississippi River. The St. Louis *Reveille* said they were literally starving under the open heavens, with not even a tent to cover them. Women and children, widows and orphans, the bed-ridden, age-stricken, and the toilworn and pauper remnant of a large community; and that paper called upon the people to help them.

The condition of the exiled Saints was indeed wretched, and had it not been for a providential flight of quails in large flocks, they would have endured much greater suffering. But it seemed as though the Lord had special compassion for His people in their deep distress, for He sent them a supply of food, in the shape of quails which settled in such numbers

about their tents and wagons that many caught them with their hands. The people praised God that in their persecutions and wanderings in the wilderness, His goodness and mercy were manifested towards them as strikingly and in a similar manner to what they had been to the Children of Israel, while Moses was leading them on their dreary march through the wilderness to the Promised Land.

The arms which the mob took from the brethren's wagons were never returned to them. If there was a good rifle taken, some anti-Mormon would be sure to appropriate it to his own use, and if anything was left in its place, it would be a poor gun, of little or no value to anybody.

After camping for several days on the banks of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, this last remnant of the Saints were enabled to remove to Winter Quarters, from whence teams had been sent for the relief of the poor. (See page 838.)

THE NAUVOO TEMPLE.

Soon after the Saints commenced to gather at Commerce, Hancock County, Ill., the authorities of the Church began to talk upon the subject of building a Temple at that place. Several councils were held and a place selected whereon to erect such a building. The place selected was the most elevated piece of ground within the Nauvoo town survey, being also centrally located on what afterward became Block 20 of the Wells Addition. The Temple site overlooks the Mississippi River, the landscape on the Iowa side and all the surrounding country for miles.

The matter of building a Temple was laid before the general conference held at Commerce, Oct. 6, 1840, when the Church voted to commence the work immediately. On this day also the conference appointed Alpheus Cutler, Elias Higbee and Reynolds Cahoon as a committee of three to carry the business into operation and to oversee the work. During the conference, which lasted three days, the Prophet Joseph explained to the Saints the law of tithing and the plan upon which the building of the Temple was to be conducted.

Several building plans for the Temple were made and submitted by various individuals, but the only one which was satisfactory to the Prophet was the one drawn and presented by William Weeks.

April 12, 1840, the brethren commenced the opening of a quarry from which to obtain stone for the building. Brother Elisha Everett struck the first blow on the works.

The committee contracted with Daniel H. Well, Esq., for the land whereon to build the Temple, and on Jan. 19, 1841, the Lord gave a revelation approving the selection of the Temple site, and commanding the erection of the sacred structure upon the spot. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.)

In February, 1841, Elder Alpheus Cutler, assisted by Elder Reynolds Cahoon and others, laid out the foundation of the Temple. On the 18th of that month the brethren began to dig the cellar. As it was the wish of President Smith that the corner stones of the Temple should be laid on the 6th day of April next, the corners for the foundation were first excavated; and about the 1st day of March the cellar walls were commenced.

Feb. 22, 1841, the committee organized the city of Nauvoo into Wards and called upon the brethren to come forward and labor every tenth day. By this means they were enabled to rush on the work so rapidly that by the 6th day of April the walls were sufficiently high at the corners to admit of the laying of the corner stones. And notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the Church, the labor moved on quickly and the prospects seemed very cheering and pleasing.

"April 6, 1841," says an editorial in

the *Times and Seasons*, "at an early hour the several companies comprising the Nauvoo Legion, with two volunteer companies from Iowa Territory, making sixteen companies in all, assembled at their several places of rendezvous, and were conducted in due order to the ground assigned for general review. The appearance, order and movements of the Legion, were chaste, grand and imposing, and reflected great credit upon the taste, skill and tact of the men comprising said Legion. We doubt whether the like can be presented in any city in the western country.

"At half past 7 o'clock a. m., the fire of artillery announced the arrival of Brigadier-Generals Law and Don Carlos Smith, at the front of their respective cohorts; and, at 8 o'clock, Major-General Bennett was conducted to his post, under the discharge of cannon, and took command of the Legion.

"At half past 9 o'clock a. m., Lieutenant-General Smith, with his guard, staff and field officers, arrived at the ground, and were presented with a beautiful silk, national flag, by the ladies of Nauvoo, which was respectfully received and hailed by the firing of cannon, and borne off by Colonel Robinson, the cornet, to the appropriate position in the line; after which, the lieutenant-general with his suite, passed the lines in review.

"At 12 m., the procession arrived upon the Temple ground, enclosing the same in a hollow square, with Lieutenant-General Smith, Major-General Bennett, Brigadier-Generals Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith, their respective staffs, guard, field officers, distinguished visitors, choir,

band, etc., in the centre, and the ladies and gentlemen, citizens, surrounding in their interior. The superior officers, together with the banner, architects, principal speaker, etc., were duly conducted to the stand at the principal corner stone, and the religious services were commenced by singing from page 65 of the new Hymn Book. * * *

(Sidney Rigdon then addressed the assemblage at some length, after which a hymn was sung under page 205, and another prayer was offered.)

"The architects then, by the direction of the First Presidency, lowered the first (S. E. corner) stone to its place, and President Joseph Smith pronounced the benediction as follows:

"This principal corner stone, in representation of the First Presidency, is now duly laid in honor of the Great God; and may it there remain until the whole fabric is completed; and may the same be accomplished speedily; that the Saints may have a place to worship God, and the Son of Man have where to lay his head.

"President Sidney Rigdon then pronounced the following:

"May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Even so. Amen.

"The meeting was then adjourned for one hour.

"The Saints assembled according to adjournment, and proceeded to lay the remaining corner stones, according to previous order.

"The second (S. W. corner) stone, by the direction of the President of the High Priesthood, with his Council and President Marks, was lowered to its place, when the President of the High Priesthood pronounced the following:

"The second corner stone of the Temple now building by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in honor to the Great God, is duly laid, and may the same unanimity, that has been manifested on this occasion, continue till the whole is completed; that peace may rest upon it to the laying of the top stone thereof, and the turning of the key thereof; that the Saints may participate in the blessings of Israel's God, within its walls, and the glory of God rest upon the same. Amen.

"The third (N. W. corner) stone, superintended by the High Council, was then lowered to its place, with the benediction of Elias Higbee, as follows:

"The third corner stone is now duly laid: may this stone be a firm support to the building, that the whole may be completed as before purposed.

"The fourth (N. E. corner) stone, superintended by the Bishops, was then lowered to its place, and Bishop N. K. Whitney pronounced the following:

"The fourth and last corner stone, expressive of the Lesser Priesthood, is now duly laid; and may the blessings before pronounced, with all others desirable, rest upon the same for ever. Amen.

"The services were then declared closed, and the military retired to the parade ground, and were dismissed with the approbation and thanks of the commanding officers. The military band, under the command of Captain Duzette, made a conspicuous and dignified appearance, and performed their part honorably. Their soul-stirring strains met harmoniously the rising emotions that swelled each bosom, and stimulated us onward to the arduous, but pleasing and honorable duties of the day. The choir also, under the direction of B. S. Wilber, deserve commendation. * * *

"In conclusion we will say, we never witnessed a more imposing spectacle than was presented on this

occasion, and during the session of conference. Such an almost countless multitude of people, moving in harmony, in friendship, in dignity, told with a voice not easily misunderstood, that they were a people of intelligence and virtue, and order; in short, that they were *Saints*; and that the God of love, purity and light was their God, their exemplar and director; and that they were blessed and happy."

In speaking upon the proper order of laying corner stones of Temples, Joseph said on the same occasion:

"If the strict order of the Priesthood were carried out, in the building of Temples, the first stone will be laid at the southeast corner, by the First Presidency of the Church. The southwest corner should be laid next. The third or northwest corner next; and the fourth or northeast corner the last. The First Presidency should lay the southeast corner stone, and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner stones.

"If a Temple is built at a distance, and the First Presidency are not present, then the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the persons to dictate the order for that Temple; and in the absence of the Twelve Apostles, then the Presidency of the Stake will lay the southeast corner stone; the Melchisedec Priesthood laying the corner stones on the east side of the Temple, and the Lesser Priesthood those on the west side."

After the corner stones were laid and the conference was over, the work upon the Temple seemed to progress more rapidly. There were about eighteen stone-cutters engaged to dress the rock for the building. Up to that time the work performed was nearly all done by tenth days' labor. But after that the Saints began to bring in some provisions, property and money; and the committee was enabled to employ a number of stone-cutters and keep them constantly at work. The tithing la-

bor also increased through the continued immigration of Saints from abroad.

When the winter season set in toward the close of the year 1841, the walls on the south side were built up to the water table, a part of which also was laid. On the north side the walls were only about two feet high. In this state the structure remained until the spring of 1842.

During all this time there had been no general tithing record opened. The money and other property contributed had all been paid over to the committee, and receipts were issued to the several donors. Elias Higbee kept the books and work accounts, and generally wrote the receipts for tithing, all of which occupied nearly the whole of his time. Elders Cahoon and Cutler hired the laborers, superintended the work and kept an oversight of the entire business.

Sept. 25, 1841, Elders Alpheus Cutler and Peter Haws started for the pine country to obtain lumber for the Temple and Nauvoo House. They took with them Tarlton Lewis, Jabez Durfee, Hardin Wilson, Wm. L. Cutler, Horace Owens, Octavius Pauket, Blakely B. Anderson, James M. Flack, Nathaniel Child, Brother Child's wife and daughter, and Peter W. Conover. These brethren spent the winter in the pine forests, and toiled diligently in their appointed work. They suffered some because of the cold in that northern region, but they made good progress. By the following July, they had succeeded in making up and bringing to Nauvoo a large raft of first-rate pine timber. By this means the prospect of the work was much brightened.

Dec. 13, 1841, the Prophet Joseph appointed Apostle Willard Richards to be recorder for the Temple and scribe for the private office of the President. The recorder opened his office in the counting room of President Smith's new brick store on Water Street, and he immediately began to record the tithings on the "Book of the Law of the Lord," page 27. The first record was made under date of Dec. 1, 1841. It was one gold sovereign, valued at \$5.00, to the credit of John Sanders, late from Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, Europe.

A few months previous to this (Jan. 30, 1841), Joseph had been appointed "Sole trustee-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints;" and, consequently, it became his prerogative to receive all the donations for the Church and the Temple. Late in the evening of Dec. 11, 1841, the trustee-in-trust instructed Brigham Young, President of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, to visit the members of the building committee and inform them more fully regarding their duties—to notify them not to accept any more tithes and consecrations, except such as were received from him. On the morning of the 13th, this message was delivered by Brigham to the committee, in the presence of Elders Kimball, Woodruff and Willard Richards.

When this order was understood by the Saints, the business of the recorder (Willard Richards) increased rapidly, and having many important matters crowding upon him, he found it necessary to appoint Saturday of each week as the time for receiving and recording the tithings of the brethren. He published a notice

under date of Jan. 12, 1842, informing the Saints of this regulation; and it was subsequently carried into effect. But the business increased so rapidly that he could not keep pace with the work. He therefore counseled with his brethren of the Twelve; and, having received permission from President Smith, he called Elder William Clayton, who had lately arrived from England, to assist him. Elder Clayton accordingly entered the recorder's office Feb. 10, 1842, and continued therein from that time forward.

In the revelation given Jan. 19, 1841, the Lord says:

"For there is not a place found on earth that He may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or which He hath taken away, even the fullness of the Priesthood.

"For a baptismal font there is not upon the earth, that they, my Saints, may be baptized for those who are dead.

"For this ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the days of your poverty, wherein ye are not able to build a house unto me.

"But I command you, all ye my Saints, to build a house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build a house unto me, and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124, Verses 28, 29, 30 and 31.)

In the summer and fall of the year 1841, in conformity with the foregoing item of law, the brethren entered into measures to build a baptismal font in the cellar floor near the east end of the Temple. President Smith approved and accepted a draft for the font, made by Brother Wm. Weeks; and on August 18, 1841, Elder Weeks began to labor on the construction of the font with his own hands. He labored six days and then committed the work to the carpenters. August 11th Brother Weeks began carving the oxen, twelve in number, upon which the

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In the revelation given Jan. 12, 1841, the Lord says:

"For there is not a place found on earth that He may come and tabernacle with His people, or which He hath taken away, even the tabernacle of the Twelve."

"For a kingdom that shall be set upon the earth, that they, my Saints, may be prepared for those who are dead."

"For this ordinance belongs to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the day of your power; whereas ye are not able to build a house unto me."

"But I command you, all ye my Saints, to build a house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build a house unto me; and during this time your husbands shall be acceptable unto me." (Doe. 5, Cov. Sec. 124, Verses 25, 26 and 27.)

In the summer and fall of the year 1841, in conformity with the foregoing item of law, the brethren entered into measures to build a dwelling for the Saints in the cellar floor near the east end of the Temple. President Smith approved and accepted a draft for the lot, made by Brother Wm. Weeks; and on August 18, 1841, Elder Weeks began to labor on the construction of the lot with his own hands. He labored six days and then committed the work to the carpenters. August 11th Brother Weeks began carrying the stones twelve in number, upon which the

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font was to stand. After carving for six days, he consigned this branch to Brother Elijah Fordham, the principal carver, who continued until they were finished.

Nov. 8, 1841, at 5 o'clock in the evening, the font was dedicated by Joseph Smith. "The baptismal font," writes the Prophet, "is situated in the centre of the basement room, under the main hall of the Temple; it is constructed of pine timber, and put together of staves tongued and grooved, oval shaped, sixteen feet long east and west, and twelve feet wide, seven feet high from the foundation, the basin four feet deep. The moulding of the cap and base are formed of beautiful carved work in antique style. The sides are finished with panel work. A flight of stairs in the north and south sides, leading up and down into the basin, is guarded by side railing. The font stands upon twelve oxen, four on each side, and two at each end, their head, shoulders, and fore legs projecting out from under the font; they are carved out of pine plank, glued together, and copied after the most beautiful five-year-old steer that could be found in the country. * * * The oxen and ornamental mouldings of the font were carved by Elder Elijah Fordham, from New York City. The font was enclosed by a temporary frame building sided up with split oak clapboards, with a roof of the same material, and was so low that the timbers of the first story were laid above it. The water was supplied from a well thirty feet deep in the east end of the basement. This font was built for the baptisms for the dead until the Temple shall be finished, when a more durable one will supply its place."

Elder Wm. Clayton writes:

"After the dedication of the font Reuben McBride was the first person baptized, under the direction of the President. Brother Samuel Rolfe, who was seriously afflicted with a felon upon one of his hands, was present. President Smith instructed him to wash in the font and told him that the hand would be healed. The doctors had told him that he could not recover before spring, and had advised him to have his hand cut. He dipped his hand in the font, and within a week he was perfectly healed.

"After this time baptisms were continued in the font, and many Saints realized great blessings—both spiritually and bodily.

"I will here state that on Sept. 25, 1841, a deposit was made in the southeast corner stone of the Temple.

"It was late in the spring of 1842, when work was opened upon the walls, and little was done until Brother William W. Player came in June. He had just arrived from England, and had come with the full intention of working on the Temple. Commencing to labor about the 8th of June, he spent some time in regulating the stone work already set which had not been done very well. About the 11th of the same month he set the first plinth on the southwest corner of the south side. During the summer he lost two weeks of work, having to wait for Elder Cahoon's sons' plinths, which they were cutting, they playing in the stone shop much of their time.

"The work progressed but slowly during this season, as there was but one crane; but the delay arose through the stones not being cut fast enough. By the fall, however, Brother Player had got all the rock-work laid around as high as the window sills, together with all the window sills, including that of the large east Venetian window. He had also two courses of pilaster stones on the plinths all around.

"During the greater part of the time in the fall, and especially toward the season when the work ceased, and winter set in, Brother Player was very sick. He nearly lost the use of his hands and feet, and several times he fell, through weakness, while on his way home. He considered that his sickness was caused by the change of climate, and by his having drunk bad water while coming up the river."

Willard Richards, the recorder, having in the early part of June, 1842, obtained permission from the President to go to the East to get

his family, made preparations to depart upon this journey. June 29th he transferred the "Law of the Lord" and books belonging to the Temple to the care and charge of William Clayton. One or two days later Elder Richards started away.

About 9 o'clock on the evening of Saturday, Sept. 3rd, President Smith was at Bishop N. K. Whitney's house, but was about to leave that place to go to Edward Hunter's. He called William Clayton to him and said: "Brother Clayton, I want you to take care of the records and papers; and from this time I appoint you Temple recorder; and when revelations are to be transcribed, you shall write them."

This was done because Elder Richards had more work than he could attend to, he being engaged upon the Church History, which the President was anxious should progress as fast as possible.

"While President Smith was concealed at the house of Father Taylor," writes Elder William Clayton, "Reynolds Cahoon and some other brethren went to visit him. He gave them many glorious instructions, and in his conversation requested Brother Cahoon, as soon as he should return home, to call upon the Saints to put a temporary floor in the Temple, that we might be enabled to hold our meetings within its sacred walls.

"Accordingly, on Sunday, Oct. 23, 1842, the committee laid before the Saints the President's request and called upon them to begin work on the morrow to accomplish this object. The following day the brethren began their labor on this temporary floor; and on Friday, the 28th, the floor was laid and seats were fixed ready for meeting.

"On Sunday, the 30th, the Saints held the first meeting in the Temple, and were addressed by Elder John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles. It was expected that the President would be there himself; but he was sick and unable to attend.

"This movement added a new stimulus to the work; and the hearts of all the Saints seemed to be filled with joy and gratitude for this privilege.

"The Prophet, before he went up the river, had called upon the members of the Temple Committee to come together to have a settlement. On Saturday, Oct. 1st, they met at the President's house, he being sick. The recorder and Bishop N. K. Whitney were present. Some reports had been circulated to the effect that the committee was not making a righteous disposition of property consecrated to the building of the Temple, and there appeared to be some dissatisfaction among the laborers on account of these reports. After carefully examining the books and making inquiry into the entire proceeding of the committee, President Smith expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with the committee and its work.

"The books were balanced between the trustee-in-trust and the committee, and also each individual account was carefully examined. The wages of the trustee-in-trust, the members of the committee and the recorder were also fixed by the President; and it was agreed that each should receive \$2 per day for his services.

"The President remarked that he was amenable to the State for the faithful discharge of his duties as trustee-in-trust, and that the Temple

Committee was accountable to him and to no other authority; and that no notice must be taken of any complaint unless it was properly brought to him, when he would make things right if any change were needed.

"The parties separated perfectly satisfied, and the President said that he would have a notice published, stating that he had examined the accounts and was satisfied. This notice appeared in the *Times and Seasons* of Oct. 15, 1842.

"At this counsel it was also agreed that the recorder's office should be removed to the Committee House near the Temple for the better accommodation of the business. Accordingly, the committee built a small brick office for the recorder; and on Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1842, the recorder moved his records, books, paper, etc., to the new office and began business there forthwith.

"Brother James Whitehead was called into the office June 11, 1842, to assist in keeping the books; and from this time forward the business continued to increase and contributions came in plentifully.

"After the work ceased upon the walls of the Temple, in the fall of 1842, the rock-cutters continued their labor with the intention of having a goodly number of the stones ready for the spring.

"Some time in the month of November, a feeling against the committee arose among the stone-cutters, who finally presented a charge to the First Presidency against Elders Cahoon and Higbee for oppressive and unchristianlike conduct, and against the committee for an unequal distribution of provisions, iron, steel, tools, etc.; also alleging that favors were shown by the committee

to the sons of its members. The trial began about 11 o'clock in the day and continued until 9 at night. Henry G. Sherwood made a plea on the side of justice, and the Patriarch Hyrum on the side of mercy. The decision was given by the President. He decided that the members of the committee should retain their standing and gave much good instruction to all parties, correcting the errors of each in kindness. The decision was marked by judgment and wisdom and cannot fail to produce a good effect.

"On Sunday, May 21, 1843, President Smith preached in the Temple.

* * * In the afternoon of that day the ordinance of partaking of bread and water, as the sacrament, was administered to the Saints for the first time in this Temple.

"The work on the building was delayed considerably this spring on account of the necessity for fixing runways for the crane. Brother Player had been sick during the entire winter, and he continued in a very feeble state until the time when he commenced again to lay the stone on the walls, which was on April 21, 1843. From this time the work progressed steadily but slowly. There was no other hindrance until the next winter set in, which was rather early, and at which time the walls were up as high as the arches of the first tier of windows all around. In this state the building was left through the winter and until the spring of 1844.

"Early in the morning of June 8, 1843, Elder Elias Higbee, one of the Temple committee, died after an illness of only five days. His death was unexpected and deeply lamented by all his brethren. He had proved

himself a worthy man, and was much respected by all who knew him.

"After this event several applications were made by men to be appointed to fill the vacant place of Elder Higbee. Elder Jared Carter was very anxious to have the appointment, and, for some cause or other, claimed it as his right. But the Spirit whispered that it would not be wisdom to appoint him. After some delay and consultation on the subject, the Patriarch Hyrum Smith was appointed by the trustee-in-trust, with the consent of the other members of the committee; and on the morning of Oct. 23, 1843, he entered upon the duties of his office, amidst the greetings and good feelings of the workers universally.

"Oct. 6, 1843, the special conference was held in the Temple. This was the first time a conference was held in the building. * * *

"On this occasion the President proposed to the people to place under bonds all agents who were sent out to collect funds for the Temple and Nauvoo House. He showed that some of the Elders, when they were away, received contributions to the Temple; but as they sometimes devoted a portion of the money in other channels, they did not make proper returns at Nauvoo and the accounts did not, therefore, accurately balance. He stated that the Twelve Apostles were now about to go East to raise means for the Temple and also for the Nauvoo House. He suggested that they give bonds to the amount of \$2,000 each; and that this rule be enforced upon all the Elders from this time forward. An action was taken by the conference and it was decided by unanimous vote to carry this proposition

into effect. The Twelve gave bonds in the required amount previous to their going East, which bonds were filed in the office of the trustee-in-trust.

"Thus the Twelve were the first agents who were ever placed under bonds, when sent to collect funds for the Church. The wisdom of this order was soon manifest; for, although it was well understood and universally believed that the Twelve would invariably make correct returns, there were others who might not be so careful or scrupulous. And, inasmuch as members of this first quorum were required to give bonds, no other man could justly complain if he were brought under the same rule.

"At this conference the Saints again voted to renew their exertions and double their diligence in order that the Temple might be speedily finished. * * *

"Some time in the winter or spring of the year 1844, Patriarch Hyrum Smith made a proclamation to the women of the Church, asking them to subscribe in money one cent each per week, for the purpose of buying the glass and nails for the Temple. He represented to them that by this means he would be able to meet all the requirements in this regard. He also gave a promise that all the sisters who would comply with this call should have the first privilege of seats in the Temple when it was finished. He opened a record of these contributions, which he kept, with the aid of Sister Mercy R. Thompson, until his death. Afterwards Brother Cutler was appointed to receive these offerings, assisted by Sister Thompson. There was soon a great anxiety manifest among the

sisters to pay their portion, and nearly all paid a year's subscription in advance. Since that time many have given the donation for the second year; and there has been already realized nearly \$2,000, which will do much towards accomplishing the desired object. These contributions yet continue to come in each day.

"Early in the spring of 1844, the committee commenced the construction of a second crane, in order to expedite the work, the labor having all been performed with but one crane up to this time. During the month of March the new crane was rigged, and immediately after the April conference (April 11th) Brother Player again began work on the walls."

During the excitement incident to the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the work on the Temple ceased for two weeks, all the hands having to watch and stand on guard night and day. The work was suspended about June 20, 1844. On the second Sabbath after the murder (July 7th) the subject of the Temple was brought into consideration, and the Church voted to commence work again and finish the building as speedily as possible.

Consequently, on July 8, 1844, the laborers resumed their work, although the committee had not so much as a bushel of meal, nor a pound of flour, nor a pound of meat to feed the hands with; but the Saints seemed determined to go to work and trust in God for the means.

A few days previous (July 5th) a large raft of pine lumber, containing 87,732 feet, was landed at Nauvoo for the Temple. The brethren turned out liberally with their teams to haul it to the Temple, where it was se-

cured in a few days. Shortly afterwards another raft, containing 67,952 feet of lumber, was received and hauled to the Temple.

About the middle of July, 1844, the sisters of the branches of La Harpe and Macedonia sent word to the Temple committee and stated their anxiety to see the building progress still more rapidly. They proposed if the committee would build another crane, they would furnish the means to build it with, and seemed wishful to go ahead with it immediately. The committee and recorder counseled on the subject, and it was decided to comply with the wishes of the sisters. Sister Clark, wife of Raymond Clark, was authorized to collect the contributions. She immediately started, and returned on the 29th with money and other property, amounting in the whole to \$194, which was more than sufficient to build a new crane.

The committee immediately set the carpenters to work, and on the 3rd of August the crane was put in operation under the management of Joshua Armstrong, the setter, and Horace Owens to back up, and W. W. Dryer, Wm. Austin and Archibald Hill to attend to the crane.

They commenced work on the north side and very soon satisfied the Saints of the utility of the movement. The works now progressed rapidly.

After the return of the Twelve Apostles to Nauvoo in August, 1844, and their acceptance by the Saints as the presiding quorum of the Church, the Saints were more united and better feelings prevailed. The work on the Temple moved on with astonishing rapidity, and on Sept. 23, 1844, the first capital was put

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The committee immediately set the carpenters to work, and on the 3rd of August the crane was put in operation under the management of Joshua Armstrong, the setter, and Horace Owens to back up, and W. W. Dyer, Wm. Austin and Archibald Hill to attend to the crane.

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Early in the spring of 1844, the committee commenced the construction of a second crane, in order to expedite the work, the labor having all been performed with but one crane up to this time. During the month of March the new crane was rigged, and immediately after the April conference (April 11th) Joseph Smith again began work on the "wells."

During the excitement incident to the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the work on the Temple ceased for two weeks, all the hands having to watch and stand on guard night and day. The work was suspended about June 20, 1844. On the second Sabbath after the martyrdom (July 7th) the subject of the Temple was brought into consideration, and the Church voted to commence work again and finish the building as speedily as possible.

Consequently, on July 8, 1844, the laborers resumed their work, although the committee had not so much as a bushel of meal, nor a pound of flour, nor a pound of meat to feed the hands with; but the Saints seemed determined to go to work and trust in God for the means. A few days previous (July 5th) a large raft of lumber, containing 87,731 feet, was landed at Nauvoo for the Temple. The brethren hauled out liberally with their teams to haul it to the Temple, where it was so-

up. The stone weighed about two tons, and when it was at its height, and the men were attempting to draw it to the wall, the crane gave way at the foot of the wing or angle, which circumstance caused considerable danger. By great care the stone was safely landed and set without any further accident.

"On Wednesday, Sept. 25th," writes Wm. Clayton, "as the brethren were beginning to raise one of the capitals, having neglected to fasten the guys, the crane fell over with a tremendous crash, breaking it considerably. As soon as it was perceived that the crane was falling, the hands fled to get out of the way. One of the brethren, Thomas Jaap, running directly in the course of the falling crane, barely escaped being killed. The crane struck the ground and was within a foot of striking his head. This circumstance hindered the workmen some; but in a few days the crane was mended and reared, and the brethren again went to work on it.

"About this time, Ira T. Miles came down from Lyman Wight's company, who were then in the north, having left the city, as was supposed, through cowardice, as they expected we should be routed and the city destroyed. About the same time, Jacob Morris came down from the same company and stated that Miles had come with the intention of setting fire to the lumber, that the building might be hindered, as Lyman Wight had said the Temple never would be built.

"Whether this was the intention of Brother Miles or not, we could not learn satisfactorily. However, enough was known to induce the authorities of the Church to advise the

committee to have some of the old police guard the lumber and the Temple night and day. * * *

There has since that been many threats thrown out from the Rigdonites and other sources that the Temple never should be built, and no doubt an attempt would have been made to set fire to it, if it had not been well guarded all the time.

"The workmen continued raising the capitals until December, 1844, when, on the 6th of that month, the last one was safely deposited in its place; which was a source of great joy to the Saints. Many fears had been entertained that Brother Player would not be able to finish them before winter set in, but it seemed as though the Lord held up the weather until this important piece of work was accomplished. About two hours after the capital was set, it commenced snowing very briskly, and at night the ground was covered about four inches, and it froze very keenly.

"There were then twelve of the capitals without the trumpet stones; and they remained in this state until the following spring. The cost of each of the capitals was about \$300. The first and last of the capitals were cut by Charles Lambert and Harvey Stanley.

"I will further say that when the hands were raising the last capital, and had got it about half way up, one of the block shives in the tackle broke and rendered it impossible in the situation either to raise or lower the stone. This circumstance presented a great difficulty, but after some consultation the hands fastened the rope below the tackle, so that it could not slip, and left the stone suspended while they

took down the blocks, put in a new shive and fixed the blocks again. The stone was then raised without further difficulty, and was set precisely at 20 minutes before 1 o'clock. This was the heaviest stone among the whole number.

"When the Twelve returned home, after the death of President Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith, they held a council and appointed Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, the two presiding Bishops, trustees-in-trust. This was done on the 9th of August; and a few days afterwards, the trustees entered upon the duties of their office.

"In the early part of December (1844) the trustees and Twelve held a council to talk on the propriety of employing a suitable number of carpenters this winter to prepare the timber works for the Temple, so as to have it all ready when the stone work was finished. It was decided to employ fifteen persons as steady carpenters; and the architect was authorized to select such men as he had confidence in—men who were well qualified to do the work that was wanted. It was also concluded to fix up a shop in the Temple for the carpenters to work in. Accordingly the south side of the lower story of the Temple was weather-boarded around. A very good shop was made by this means, which was completed on the following Saturday; and on Monday, the 16th, the men selected went to work in their new shop. Their names were as follows: Truman O. Angell, William Felshaw, William F. Cahoon, Joseph T. Schofield, Samuel Rolfe, Zimri H. Baxter, Adison Everett, John Stiles, Hugh Riding, Miles Romney, Jabez Durfee, Stephen Longstroth, Benja-

min Rolfe, Nicholas T. Silcock and William Carmichael. Hiram Mace, Wandel Mace and Gideon Gibbs were appointed to attend the saw-mill and Daniel Avery to turn grind-stone for the carpenters, keep the shop clean and take care of strangers who might visit the building.

"During the early part of January, 1845, the High Priests' quorum entered into an investigation of the propriety of building a hall for their accommodation. On the 26th, President Young and some others of the quorum of the Twelve attended the meeting of the quorum, when the subject was again discussed. President Young made some remarks on the subject and concluded by advising them, instead of building a hall, to go to work and finish the upper room of the Temple, and by this means they would soon have a room to attend to the ordinances and save much expense. A vote was taken on accepting President Young's proposition, which was carried without a dissenting voice. The brethren immediately commenced bringing in their donations to the Bishops for that purpose. This matter served as a new stimulus among the Saints to use every exertion to finish the Temple as speedily as possible.

"On Wednesday, March 12th, Brother William W. Player commenced work again on the walls. He got one stone up just as the bell rung for dinner.

"On Friday, the 14th, there was a man killed on the stone quarry by a stone falling on his head while the brethren were blasting rocks. This is the only accident of any moment that has ever happened on the Temple or any of the works connected with it.

"On Thursday, March 27, 1845, Brother Player put up the last trumpet stone, at about 3 o'clock, p. m. He also laid the first stringer for the large upper Venetian window in the east side.

"Monday, April 21, 1845, Brother Player put up the first star in the architrave. * * * At precisely a quarter before 3 o'clock it was properly set in its place; and the instant it was set, Brothers Edward Miller and Elisha Everett sprung for the top; but Brother Miller being a little the smartest he was on first and stood erect, viewing with pride the surrounding scenery. After he got down Brother Everett also mounted the stone and stood on it for some time. The top of the star is 55 feet above the ground. The first star was put up on Joseph's corner, being the first one north of the southeast corner.

"On the morning of Tuesday, April 29, 1845, the first upper circular window was finished setting by Brother Player. On Friday, May 16th, Brother Player set the last star on the west end, and the second one from the southwest corner. It was set exactly at 3 o'clock p. m. At this time the carpenters were very busy raising the timbers for the upper floor of the building. * * *

"On Monday, May 19th, while I was sitting on the Temple, Brother Stephen H. Goddard met with an accident, which was very near proving fatal. He was standing on the wall on the north side of the Temple, assisting some others to take down one of the scaffolding poles. By some accident the foot of the pole slipped and struck him on the left side of the head. He fell head foremost, being stunned by the blow.

Fortunately they had just got two joists in the floor and he fell across them, which prevented him from going down into the cellar, a distance of about 62 feet. And in all probability, if he had fallen down, he would have been killed. The brethren raised him up, and on examination found that he had received a cut on the upper corner of his left eye. His face was also much bruised and he bled profusely. I laid hands on him with two other brethren and he went home. He suffered considerable pain until evening, when it ceased, and in two days afterwards he was at work again as usual.

"On Friday, the 23rd, all the stone on the outside of the wall was laid, except the southeast corner stone. This progress was a great rejoicing to the Saints.

"The Rigdonites have prophesied that the walls would never be built; but through the blessing of God we have lived to see the prediction come to naught.

"On Saturday, May 24, 1845, at a quarter before 6 o'clock a. m., was the time appointed for the laying of the capstone of the Temple. Quite a number of the Saints had assembled to witness the interesting ceremony. There were present, of the quorum of the Twelve: President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Willard Richards, Amasa M. Lyman, George A. Smith, John E. Page, Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt; also Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, trustees-in-trust; Alpheus Cutler and Raymond Cahoon, building committee; Wm. Clayton, Temple recorder; John Smith, Patriarch and President of the Stake, and Charles C. Rich, his Counselor. Of the High Council

Fortunately they had just got two joints in the floor and he fell across them, which prevented him from going down into the cellar, a distance of about 52 feet. And in all probability, if he had fallen down, he would have been killed. The brickmen raised him up, and on examination found that he had received a cut on the upper corner of his left eye. His face was also much lacerated and he bled profusely. I laid hands on him with two other brethren and he went home. He suffered considerably, but in two days afterwards he was at work again as usual.

"On Friday, the 23rd, all the stone on the outside of the wall was laid, except the southeast corner stone. This project was a great rejoicing to the Saints.

"The Highpriests have prophesied that the walls would never be built; but through the blessing of God we have lived to see the prediction come to naught.

"On Saturday, May 24, 1845, at a quarter before 9 o'clock A.M., was the time appointed for the laying of the capstone of the Temple. Quite a number of the Saints had assembled to witness the interesting ceremony. There were present, of the quorum of the Twelve, President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Willard Richards, Amasa Lyman, George A. Smith, John E. Page, Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt; also Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, trustees-in-trust; Apollos Cutler and Raymond Cotton, building committee; Wm. Clayton, Temple recorder; John Smith, Farrar and President of the Stake, and Charles G. Hatch, his Counselor. Of the High Council

"On Thursday, March 27, 1845, Brother Payer put up the last framework stone at about 3 o'clock P.M. He also laid the first stringer for the large upper Vestibule window in the east side.

"Monday, April 21, 1845, Brother Payer put up the first stone in the architrave. At precisely a quarter before 3 o'clock it was properly set in its place; and the instant it was set, Brothers Edward Miller and Elias Kiersey sprung for the top; but Brother Miller being a little the swiftest he was on first and stood erect, viewing with pride the surrounding scenery. After he got down Brother Kiersey also mounted the stone and stood on it for some time. The top of the wall is 55 feet above the ground. The first stone was put up on Joseph's corner, being the first one north of the southeast corner.

"On the morning of Tuesday, April 23, 1845, the first upper corner window was finished setting by Brother Payer. On Friday, May 18th, Brother Payer set the last stone on the west end, and the second one from the southeast corner. It was set exactly at 3 o'clock P.M. At this time the carpenters were very busy raising the rafters for the upper floor of the building.

"On Monday, May 19th, while I was sitting on the Temple, Brother Stephen H. Goddard met with an accident, which was very near proving fatal. He was standing on the wall on the north side of the Temple, assisting some others to take down one of the scaffolding poles. By some accident the foot of the pole slipped and struck him on the left side of the head. He fell head foremost, being stunned by the blow.

Wm. Huntington, sen., Aaron Johnson, Geo W. Harris, James Allred and David Fullmer were present; also Wm. Weeks, architect, and Wm. W. Phelps.

"A few minutes before 6 o'clock the band came up and arranged themselves on the platform in a circle a little back from the corner. The names of the members of the band who were present were: Wm. Pitt, leader; Stephen Hales, Wm. F. Cahoon, Robert T. Burton, John Kay, James Smithies, Daniel F. Cahoon, Andrew Cahoon, Charles H. Hales, Martin H. Peck, J. T. Hutchinson, James Standing, Wm. D. Huntington, Charles Smith and Charles C. Robbins; also William H. Kimball, color bearer.

"At 6 o'clock the band played 'The Nightingale,' and afterwards, while the people were collecting, they played another tune. At 8 minutes after 6 o'clock, Brother Wm. W. Player commenced spreading his mortar, perfect silence prevailing,

"President Young stood on the wall immediately north of the corner-stone, with Elder Heber C. Kimball on his right hand.

"When the mortar was spread, the stone was lifted to its place by President Brigham Young, Wm. W. Player, Tarlton Lewis, Elisha Everett, John Hill, Edward Miller, Chas. W. Patten, Samuel Hodge, Hans C. Hansen and Thos. Jaap.

"President Young then stepped on the stone, and taking a large peatle began beating it to its place. He finished laying the stone with the assistance and direction of Brother Player precisely at 22 minutes after 6 o'clock.

"The band struck up the 'Cap-

stone March,' composed and arranged by Wm. Pitt, the leader, for the occasion; after which President Young spoke to the congregation, instructing them with regard to shouting the 'Hosannah,' and then said:

"The last stone is laid upon the Temple, and I pray the Almighty in the name of Jesus to defend us in this place, and sustain us until the Temple is finished and have all got our endowments."

"The whole congregation then, following the motion of President Young, shouted as loud as possible: 'Hosannah! hosannah! hosannah! to God and the Lamb! Amen! Amen! and Amen!' This was repeated a second and third time.

"The President concluded by saying:

"So let it be, thou Lord Almighty!"

He continued and said:

"This is the seventh day of the week, or the Jewish Sabbath. It is the day on which the Almighty finished His work and rested from His labors. We have now finished the walls of the Temple, and we may rest to-day from our labors."

He said he would take it upon him to dismiss the workmen for the day; and requested the people to hallow the day and spend it giving thanks to God.

"He then dismissed the congregation, and in company with the brethren of the Twelve retired to the place of their retreat, where they could be safe from arrest by constables and other officers who were prowling around the city from Carthage.

"The people began to move away, but the band continued playing. John Kay also went on the corner stone and sang a song composed by Elder Wm. W. Phelps, entitled, 'The Capstone Song.' The morning was very cold and chilly. The Saints seemed highly interested and

pleased with the morning's performance. According to the request of President Young all works were suspended and the day was kept as a holiday. On May 28th, 1845, the first 'bent' of the attic story of the Temple was raised by the carpenters, and up to this time they continued to raise the timber works with pleasing rapidity.

"Thus the work of this Temple has progressed from the beginning to the present time without any serious accident except in the incident which happened at the stone quarry. The blessing of God has attended the whole progress of the work, and it has advanced beyond our most sanguine expectations. Our enemies have threatened all the time, and for the last two years we have had very little cessation from writs and other efforts of the enemy to prevent our finishing it. Many prophecies have been uttered against it; but the Saints have invariably pursued a steady course of perseverance. As the building has progressed, the Saints have increased their donations and tithings, and this spring (1845) has exceeded all past times for liberality and donations from the brethren."

Early in the fall of 1845 the steeple and tower of the Temple were completed and preparations made to hold the October conference in the building. So great was the anxiety to complete it that it was decided that all the carpenters that could be obtained should be put to work at it immediately, while others should gather the harvest and attend to other labors. Under date of August 21, 1845, President Young wrote from Nauvoo to Wilford Woodruff in England:

"The Temple is up, the shingles all on, the tower raised, and nearly ready to put the dome up. The joiners are now at work finishing off the inside."

In the beginning of October, 1845, the Temple was so far completed that meetings could be held in it. The first meeting held within its walls (Oct. 5, 1845) was attended by 5,000 people. The building had by this time been entirely inclosed. The windows were in, temporary floors laid and pulpits and seats arranged to accommodate several thousand persons. On that day the Temple, so far as completed, was dedicated to the Lord as "a monument of the Saints' liberality, fidelity and faith." On the following three days the general conference was held in the Temple, which was the only general conference ever held within the walls of that building.

After this conference work was resumed on the Temple, and it progressed so far that the attic story was plastered and ready for use on the 30th of November following, on which day that part of the building was dedicated. During the month of December, 1845, and January, 1846, a large number of Saints received their endowments in the Temple. On the 9th of February the roof of the building was discovered to be on fire, the stovepipe having ignited it. The alarm was immediately given, the citizens rallied to the scene and the fire was extinguished in about half an hour, having done but little damage.

The exodus from Nauvoo was commenced in February, 1846, but that did not have the effect of stopping the work on the Temple. When President Young and others of the Twelve started for the West, Orson Hyde was left to take charge of the

Temple and administer to the Saints in Nauvoo.

In the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. Elders Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, John, Joseph and Phineas H. Young, John M. Bernhisel, Joseph L. Heywood and several others were present; Elder Joseph Young offered up the dedicatory prayer. On the next day (May 1st) the Temple was publicly dedicated by Elder Orson Hyde, Elders Wilford Woodruff, A. W. Babbitt and Joseph A. Stratton being present and taking part in the services.

This much accomplished the Saints were contented, having fulfilled the commandment to build the holy edifice, and immediately after all who were able to do so crossed the Mississippi River and followed their predecessors in the exodus.

The Nauvoo Temple was built of light grey limestone, nearly as hard as marble. It was 128 feet long, 88 feet wide and 65 feet from floor to roof. From the ground to the top of the spire was 165 feet. It had 30 hewn pilasters—six at each end and nine at each side—which cost about \$3,000 each. The base of the pilasters were crescent new moons, and the capitals, nearly 50 feet high, were suns with human faces in bold relief, 2½ feet broad, and ornamented with rays of light and waves, the whole surmounted by two hands holding trumpets. There were two stories in the clear, and two and one half stories in the recesses over the arches, four tiers of windows, two gothic and two round. The baptismal font, supported on twelve carved oxen, was in the basement story, and with the oxen, was intended to be gilded with gold. On the west

front of the building was inscribed in golden letters:

THE HOUSE OF THE LORD:

BUILT BY THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

The amount expended by the Saints on this building exceeded \$1,000,000.

After the famous battle of Nauvoo in September, 1846, the Temple was taken possession of by the mob, who immediately set to work defacing it in various ways, and desecrating it by their hideous oaths and dreadful blasphemies.

Nov. 19, 1848, the Temple was fired by an incendiary. The fire when first discovered about 3 o'clock in the morning was bursting out through the spire near the small door that opened from the east side to the roof on the main building. When first seen the destroying element had taken such hold of the timbers and roof as to make useless any effort to extinguish it. The materials of the inside were so dry and the fire spread so rapidly, that a few minutes were sufficient to wrap the famed edifice in a sheet of flames.

In the History of Hancock County the following appears concerning the burning of the Temple:

"It was a beautiful night, and about 3 o'clock (in the morning) fire was discovered in the cupola. It had made but little headway when first seen, but spread rapidly, and in a very short period the lofty spire was a mass of flame, shooting high in the air, and illuminating a wide extent of country. It was seen for miles away. The citizens gathered around, but nothing could be done to save the structure. It was entirely of wood except the walls, and nothing could have stopped the progress of the flames. In two hours, and before the sun dawned upon the earth, the proud structure, reared at so much cost—an anomaly in architecture, and a monument of religious zeal—stood with four blackened and smoking walls only re-

maining. If any party or parties had been contemplating the purchase of the Temple, for any purpose, its destruction, of course, put an end to the scheme."

Elder George A. Smith and Erastus Snow, who visited Nauvoo about eight years afterwards, learned from Lewis A. Bidamon, landlord of the Nauvoo Mansion, that the inhabitants of Warsaw, Carthage, Pontosue and surrounding settlements, jealous of Nauvoo and fearing that it would still retain its superior importance as a town, and the "Mormons" therefore might be induced to return, contributed a purse of \$500 which they gave to one Joseph Agnew for burning the Temple, and that he was the wretch who set the building on fire. Mr. Bidamon added that the burning of the Temple did have the effect to diminish the importance of Nauvoo, for his hotel did not have one fourth the custom after the conflagration that it had previously.

Soon after the burning of the Temple the ruins were bought by the Icarians who set to work repairing the building with a view to making it an institution of learning, but while thus engaged a tornado blew down the north wall. The *Hancock Patriot*, a newspaper published at Nauvoo at that time, says in this connection:

"The dreadful tornado of May 27th (1850) which invaded the city of Nauvoo and neighboring places has been for us Icarians (little accustomed to such revolutions in the atmosphere) a spectacle of frightful sublimity, and also a source of mortal anguish, on account of the disasters and catastrophes which have resulted from it, to the inhabitants of this county and to us.

"The Temple, which we were preparing so actively and resolutely to rebuild—the Temple which we hoped to cover this year, and in which we were to settle our refectories, our halls of reunion and our schools—

that gigantic monument has become the first victim of the tornado.

"How many projects are buried under those heaps of rubbish! How much outlay and days of hard labor has been lost to us! It was for that magnificent edifice to again give a soul to that great body, that one of our agents in the north pineries has just bought all the great beams necessary for its rebuilding; it is for it that we were adding a saw-machine to the mill, and establishing a vast shed to shelter our laborers; in a word, it was for it that all our efforts and strength have been employed; and now one gale of the tempest brings to naught all our endeavors—has violently ended what incendiary had begun in November, 1848, and what *union fraternity* tried to repair in 1850. We resign without murmuring to that catastrophe.

"There now remains nothing of the gigantic work of the Mormons, except the west face, strongly united by its sides to another wall in the interior part and surmounted by an arch; between the two walls at the north and south are the two towers or seat of the staircases."

After this no further attempt was made to rebuild the Temple, but the remaining portions of the walls were gradually taken down and the rock hauled away to be used for the construction of other buildings, both in and outside of Nauvoo. Subsequently some of the rock were shipped a great distance—it is said to almost every State in the Union—and some choice blocks have even been shipped to Europe, where they at present adorn the palaces of noblemen or are preserved as relics. But for many years there has not been one stone left upon another to mark the place where once stood the noble edifice—the second Temple reared by the Saints of God in this generation. The ground upon which it stood is now owned by C. W. Reimbold, a German, who keeps a little store near the old site. There are ten other buildings on the Temple Block, four of which were built by the Icarians.

THE SHIP "BROOKLYN."

In November, 1845, Orson Pratt, who presided over the branches of the Church in the Eastern and Middle States, issued his farewell message to the Saints in those parts, prior to taking his departure for Nauvoo to join the Saints in their removal westward. It had been decided that the *Messenger*, a paper published in New York in the interest of the Church, by Samuel Brannan, should suspend publication, and that the editor should charter a vessel and take his press and fixtures, as also a company of Saints from the Eastern branches, by way of Cape Horn, to California, as the distance to travel from that point to their probable destination in the Rocky Mountains, it was thought, would not be so great, and the trip would be attended with much less expense. At the same time those who had sufficient means to buy for themselves teams and outfit were advised to make their way to Nauvoo, to join the Saints there and journey westward.

In compliance with these instructions Samuel Brannan chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, Captain Richardson, and small companies of Saints from the New York and Massachusetts branches of the Church began to gather in New York City, awaiting the date of departure from the United States to California. Upon arriving at New York they were directed to a certain boarding house where friends were already waiting. "One by one," writes Augusta Joyce Crocheron, one of the passengers who made the voyage in the *Brooklyn*, "the tardy emigrants arrived; the full number was entered, the luggage was transferred to the ship and they left the bustling thoroughfares of the great city and crowded into the stuffy little staterooms for the long journey 'around the Horn' in the old, almost worn out sailing vessel, the ship *Brooklyn*. * * *

"The *Brooklyn* had seen many a rough sea, and weathered many a

terrible storm. She was one of the old time build, and was made more for work than beauty or speed. She had done her duty well, and borne her burdens without complaint. But she was old and showed unmistakable signs of weakness and decay. Her owners couldn't part with her, not because she was attractive, but there was money to be made out of her, and if by her weakness and age she might go to the bottom with her list of passengers full, yet even the last charter or payment of passage would be better than laying her up, as useless, no matter how many souls were sent to the depts until the sea should give up its dead. Her roster was well officered, and she was well manned, but the hull was rickety, and she was chartered because she could be had cheap."

The *Brooklyn* set sail from New York Feb. 4, 1846, the same day as the actual exodus from Nauvoo, Ill., began (see page 835), with about two hundred and thirty souls on board, mostly Saints, and considerable freight, some of which was for the Sandwich Islands. The passengers started on their voyage joyfully. They took farming implements, blacksmiths, carpenters, and wheelwrights' tools, fixtures for two grist mills, saw-mill irons, a printing press, type, paper and such other things as would be needed in establishing a colony in a distant land. Sister Crocheron writes:

"The day on which we embarked was rainy, cold and gloomy. Upon the wharf lingered friends, sorrowful in the hour of parting; strangers, cynical and curious, wondering and half pitying, looked upon the old emigrant ship, having their own thoughts of this strange venture upon a long and perilous voyage, to an almost unknown country. * * *

"There were two gentlemen on board, traveling for pleasure, neither of whom were Mormons. * * * As for the pleasure of the trip, we met disappointment, for we once long lay becalmed in the tropics, and at another time we were

'hatched below' during a terrific storm. Women and children were at night lashed to their berths, for in no other way could they keep in. Furniture rolled back and forth endangering limb and life. The waves swept the deck and even reached the staterooms. A passenger relates that their only light was from two lamps hung outside in the hall and these were dim and wavering from the movements of the vessel. Children's voices crying in the darkness, mother's voices soothing or scolding, men's voices rising above the others, all mingled with the distressing groans and cries of the sick for help, and, above all, the roaring of the wind and howling of the tempest made a scene and feeling indescribable.

"The effect and feeling at such times were so wretched that with some of us the certainty of death would not have roused us to an effort to save life in our own behalf. And yet even there amid such scenes a few were cheerful and sought to comfort others, and those never for a moment lost belief that they would reach their journey's end. Upon one occasion, during a dreadful storm, the good old captain came down with grave countenance. The passengers gathered around him to catch his words amid the confusion of the scene. He said: 'My friends, there is a time in every man's life when it is fitting that he should prepare to die. That time has come to us, and unless God interposes, we shall all go to the bottom; I have done all in my power, but this is the worst gale I have known since I was master of a ship.' One woman, full of confidence and zeal, answered him: 'Captain Richardson, we left for California and we shall get there.' Another looked with a calm smile on her face and said: 'Captain, I have no more fear than though we were on the solid land.' The captain gazed upon them in mute surprise and left them. As he went upstairs he exclaimed, 'These people have a faith that I have not,' and added to a gentleman, 'They are either fools and fear nothing, or they know more than I do.'

"That storm passed away; and we encountered another off Cape Horn, in which one of the sailors was washed overboard. It was also during a storm that Mrs. Laura Goodwin was descending a stairway when she was thrown heavily forward, which caused premature confinement and death to ensue.

"In longitude 77° W. and latitude 33° S. we sighted the famous Island of Juan Fernandez. The memory of the place will never fade from our minds. * * * As we approached, being yet a great distance

away, the island looked like a mass of immensely high rocks covered with moss; which moss, on nearer scrutiny, turned out to be heavy forests covering lofty peaks. The latter were half buried in masses of cloud, and were now visible, now invisible, as the fickle air-current disturbed the cumuli which yet in shifting forms continued to hang about the mountain tops. The little harbor * * * faces the east, and is in the form of a half-moon or horse-shoe. In coming towards it, but still some miles away, a row of regular apertures became visible in the face of a cliff at right angles to the line of our approach. They looked so like a battery, that one had to pause for a moment and reflect how unsuitable their real if not apparent size must be as embrasures for guns. In point of fact, these holes were the entrances of caverns or chambers in the rocks, in which, as we were assured, the Chilian government formerly imprisoned convicts. The stone is soft and porous, and the felons, for whom the island was a sort of Botany Bay, were employed in gangs at enlarging the subterranean spaces which nature had originally formed.

"At Juan Fernandez we went ashore to bury Mrs. Goodwin. Although the occasion was so sorrowful, the presence of the six little children sobbing in their uncontrollable grief and the father in his loneliness trying to comfort them, still, such was our weariness of the voyage that the sight of and tread upon *terra firma* once more was such a relief from the ship life that we gratefully realized and enjoyed it. The passengers bathed and washed their clothing in the fresh water, gathered fruit and potatoes, caught fish, some eels, great spotted creatures that looked so much like snakes that some members of the company could not eat them when cooked. We rambled about the island, visited the caves, one of which was pointed out to us as the veritable 'Robinson Crusoe's' cave, and it was my good fortune to take a sound nap there one pleasant afternoon. * * *

"Many mementoes and souvenirs were gathered, and after strewing our dead sister's grave anew with parting tokens of love, regret and remembrance, we departed from the island, bearing away a serene though shaded picture of our brief sojourn. * * *

"The children! How they did gnaw away on poor bread and fat pieces of boiled salt pork! At first there was a sad waste of provisions and the sharks soon followed the ship for the food thrown overboard. One very daring young man used to take a curious kind of pleasure in lowering himself

over the deck down to where he would be barely out of their reach, as an aggravating temptation to them. Evidently he did not share the nervous apprehensions of his wife, nor the superstitions entertained by the sailors. After we reached the Sandwich Islands he practiced the same feat at the almost extinct volcano, and narrowly escaped suffocation.

"The drinking water grew thick and ropy with slime, so that it had to be strained between the teeth, and the taste was dreadful. One pint a day was the allowance to each person to carry to his stateroom. * *

"Still worse grew the condition of the ship as the journey lengthened. Rats abounded in the vessel; cockroaches and smaller vermin infested the provisions, until eternal vigilance was the price imposed upon every mouthful. It was not strange that sickness and discontent prevailed.

"During the voyage a contract was drawn and signed by the company, covenanting to give the proceeds of their labors for the next three years into a common fund from which all were to draw their living, as a limited communism was contemplated to be put into operation for convenience and protection. Some months afterwards a number of the signers 'backed out,' others faithfully keeping their promise through adversity and prosperity. * * *

"July 31, 1846, we passed the 'Golden Gate.' The day opened not with a glorious sunshine to us, for a fog hovered over the harbor of Yerba Buena, and a mist like a winter's robe hung all around, hiding from our eager eyes the few objects that were made weird and enigmatical in the nearness of the firm and solid ground, where we expected that soon willing labor would begin, homes be erected, fields cultivated, and peace and safety spread over us their wings of protection. * * *

"As we gazed through the misty walls we perceived dimly some familiar shapes looming up—sloops, whalers, ships of war, and waving from their masts as well as from the barracks the well-known and glorious flag of our country.

"A boom—and its echo filled the air; it was a salute from the cannon of the fort, ordered by the U. S. commander. The *Brooklyn* responded, and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure. Look! in the dim distance a dark body gliding on the water to-

wards us, while the familiar strokes of the oars brought it swiftly and steadily to our ship's side. It was a sturdy row boat, that seemed a familiar friend. In a few moments uniformed men trod the deck; we knew they were friends—Americans, not Mexicans. In our sweet native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously and confidentially said in a loud tone: 'Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America.' Three hearty cheers were given in reply from faint and weary lips, but rising from hearts strong, brave, hopeful and loyal still.

"They crowded upon the deck, women and children, questioning husbands and fathers, and studied the picture before them—they would never see it just the same again—as the foggy curtains furled towards the azure ceiling. How it imprinted itself upon their minds! A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barracks, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them; and between the picture and the emigrants still loomed up here and there, at the first sight more distinctly, the black vessels—whaling ships and sloops of war,—that was all, and that was Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, the landing place for the pilgrims of faith.

"Soon came the order for unloading, and all was activity, all being glad to stand once more on solid ground. A few tents were erected, and these were soon filled. Into the old barracks 16 families were crowded, their apartments being divided by quilts, or other accommodating partitions. The cooking was to be done out of doors. The orders were passed around that all must stay within certain limits; the war with Mexico was virtually ended, but the vindictive enemy lurked ever near, ready to wreak vengeance upon the unwary.

"With hearty good will, trying to make the best of everything, the new colony, carried and landed safely by the old ship *Brooklyn* from New York, began life and spread its influence, habits of industry and adornment of homes around them."

THE HISTORICAL RECORD is published by ANDREW JENSON, Salt Lake City, Utah. Subscription price, \$2.00 per annum. If paid strictly in advance, \$1.25.

Office and P. O. Address: No. 154 N. Second West Street, Salt Lake City.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

"What thou seest, write in a book." REV. 1, 11.

Nos. 7 & 8.

AUGUST, 1889.

VOL. VIII.

JOURNEYINGS IN THE WILDERNESS.

In the winter of 1845-46, owing to the continued persecutions and mobbings to which the Saints were subjected, active preparations were going on in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Ill., for the removal of the body of the Church to the Rocky Mountains (see page 831), and in the beginning of February, 1846, the actual exodus began. Charles Shumway, who crossed the Mississippi River Feb. 4, 1846, was the first one who started from the "beautiful city" for the western wilderness. On the 6th George Miller and family, with six wagons, were ferried across the river, and a few days later the work of ferrying across was kept up day and night. A few accidents occurred such as the sinking of a ferryboat, but generally the Saints were fortunate in getting over safely. A camp was formed on the west bank of the river opposite Nauvoo. President Brigham Young and some others, with their families, left Nauvoo on the 15th, and, after crossing the river, they traveled nine miles to Sugar Creek, in Lee County, Iowa, where they formed another camp, organized in companies and awaited the arrival of others from Nauvoo before

they proceeded on their way. While encamped there, the weather became so intensely cold that the Mississippi River was frozen entirely over, and hundreds of the Saints, with their teams, crossed the river on the ice. During the remainder of the month of February there were arrivals almost every day at the camp on Sugar Creek. The sufferings of the people in traveling, and even after their arrival in the camp, was intense, because of the cold. Many of the exiles were imperfectly clothed, and lacked wagon covers and tents to shelter them. Consequently, when the snow fell and this cold weather set in, they suffered much more than they otherwise would have done.

While the extreme cold weather lasted it became a serious difficulty for the exiles to sustain their numerous cattle and horses, for it required many hundred bushels of grain daily to keep them from perishing. From the few scattering settlers in the surrounding country, however, they were enabled to buy large quantities of Indian corn, from time to time, with money and labor, and thus they were enabled to keep their stock alive.

Notwithstanding that strict charges had been given the Saints by the authorities to provide themselves with a good supply of provisions previous to starting, it was found that many of those encamped on Sugar Creek were destitute of food, having provided only sufficient for a few days. President Young and others in the camp, who had started out with a better supply of provisions and grain for their animals, shared with those in need, and efforts were made by many of the brethren to obtain work in Iowa, in which quite a number were successful. Several jobs of cutting timber and husking corn were taken, by which the Saints obtained some means to help them on their journey.

On the 28th of February a petition was addressed to the governor of Iowa by the authorities of the Church, imploring his protection and influence in favor of the Saints while on their journey to a land of exile, or while remaining in that Territory working for an outfit, or raising a crop on rented or unclaimed land, in case necessity should force any of them to do so.

On the 1st of March the camp was broken on Sugar Creek and the exiles continued their journey. They traveled about five miles in a north-westerly direction, and after scraping away the snow, they pitched their tents upon the hard frozen ground. After building large fires in front, they found themselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Their beds were placed upon the frozen earth, "and after bowing before our great Creator," writes Apostle Orson Pratt, "and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him, and imploring His protection, we re-

signed ourselves to the slumbers of the night." The following is from the private journal of Orson Pratt:

"Monday, March 2nd.—This morning the camp moved on in a westerly direction; the roads being rough and bad, some wagons were broken. In the evening, encamped on the east bank of the Des Moines River, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

"Tuesday 3rd.—The morning is rather cold. The thermometer standing at 7 o'clock at 23°. The camp moved forward, following up the general course of the river, about eight miles, when, night approaching, we pitched our tents (at a point near the present town of Bonaparte). The ground having thawed during the day, the place of our encampment is quite muddy, which renders it unpleasant to those who sleep upon the ground.

"Wednesday 4th.—At 8 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at 43° near Bonaparte. The roads being muddy, and some wagons and harness broken, it was concluded to remain until the next day. In the meantime our mechanics were busily engaged in repairing the wagons, etc. By the earnest solicitations of the citizens of Farmington, the band of music from our camp visited them, and gave them a concert, much to their satisfaction.

"Thursday 5th.—To-day most of the camp moved on, fording the river at Bonaparte's Mills. The roads in many places are almost impassable on account of the mud. Some teams are unable to draw their loads in bad places without assistance. Some wagons were broken. A portion of the camp were forced to stop on account of the roads; others proceeded on about twelve miles to Indian Creek, where they stopped until the next day. By an altitude of the Pole Star, our latitude at this place is 40° 42' 51". It being dark when we arrived at this creek, we pitched our tents in a wet swampy place. The next morning, some removed their wagons and tents on to dryer ground, a few yards distant, while others continued their journey. Thus our camp began to be somewhat scattered.

"Saturday 7th.—A small portion of the camp, with myself, moved on about twelve miles, to Fox River; while the main body encamped about three miles in the rear. Here we stopped two or three days. By a meridian observation of Sirius, the latitude was determined to be 40° 42' 56".

"Tuesday 10th.—Our small company moved on about ten miles, and encamped, the roads being exceedingly bad. We wait-

ed here about ten days for the main body of the camp, who were unable to proceed on account of the deep mud.

"We are very much scattered at the present. Many are engaging work in the thinly scattered settlements, to obtain food both for themselves and their animals. It was found necessary to exchange our horses for oxen, as the latter would endure the journey much better than horses. Many have already exchanged.

"Friday 20th.—This morning, at half-past six, the thermometer was 10° below the freezing point. The main camp having come up, we proceeded on our journey about ten miles, and pitched our tents for the night. The evening being rather unfavorable, I only obtained an observation for the true time.

"Saturday 21st.—At sunrise the thermometer stood 10° below the freezing point. Traveled about 20 miles, and encamped on the west bank of Chariton River, the main camp being still behind.

"Sunday 22nd.—The day is rainy and unpleasant. Moved only seven miles. The next day went through the rain and deep mud, about six miles, and encamped upon the west branch of Shoal Creek. The heavy rains had rendered the prairies impassable; and our several camps were very much separated from each other. We were compelled to remain as we were for some two or three weeks, during which time our animals were fed upon the limbs and bark of trees, for the grass had not yet started, and we were a number of miles from any inhabited country, and therefore, it was very inconvenient to send for grain. The heavy rains and snows, together with frosty nights, rendered our situation very uncomfortable. Our camps were now more perfectly organized, and captains were appointed over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens, and over all these, a President and Counsellors, together with other necessary officers. Game is now quite plentiful. Our hunters bring into camp more or less deer, wild turkies, and prairie hens every day.

"Tuesday 31st.—The day being pleasant, I obtained observation for the true time, and regulated my watch. From observation, I determined the latitude of my encampment upon Shoal Creek to be 40° 40' 7"; longitude, by lunar distance, 92° 59' 15".

"Sunday, April 5th.—A portion of our camp met together, to offer up our sacrament to the Most High. After a few remarks by myself and Bishop Miller, we proceeded to break bread, and administer in the

holy ordinance of the Lord's supper. At 6 o'clock in the evening, we met with the captains of companies to make some arrangements for sending twelve or fourteen miles to the settlements for corn to sustain our animals.

"Monday 6th.—This morning, at the usual hour of prayer, we bowed before the Lord with thankful hearts, it being just 16 years since the organization of the Church, and we were truly grateful for the many manifestations of the goodness of God towards us as a people. The weather is still wet and rainy. Nine or ten wagons, with four yoke of oxen each, have started this morning for the settlements to obtain corn. In the evening we were visited by a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by a high wind and hail. Most of the tents which were pitched upon high ground were blown down, and the inmates exposed to the fury of the storm. The water in Shoal Creek arose in a very few minutes several feet in height, and threatened to overflow its banks, and disturb our tents.

"Tuesday 7th.—This morning the mud was some frozen, the thermometer standing at 29°. The day is rainy and disagreeably wet, and the mud very deep.

"Wednesday 8th.—Our teams which were sent three days ago after corn, returned; the most of them empty, and we find it very difficult to sustain our teams.

"Thursday 9th.—After remaining here for about three weeks, we concluded to move on slowly. The rain poured down in torrents. With great exertion a part of the camp were enabled to get about six miles, while others were stuck fast in the deep mud. We encamped at a point of timber about sunset, after being drenched several hours in rain. The mud and water in and around our tents were ankle deep, and the rain still continued to pour down without any cessation. We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees, and throw them upon the ground in our tents, to keep our beds from sinking in the mire. Those who were unable to reach the timber, suffered much, on account of cold, having no fuel for fires. Our animals were turned loose to look out for themselves; the bark and limbs of trees were their principal food.

"Saturday 11th.—During the night the mud froze hard. To any but Saints, our circumstances would have been very discouraging, for it seemed to be with the greatest difficulty that we could preserve our animals from actual starvation, and we were obliged to send off several days' journey to the Missouri settlements on the south

to procure grain. Many of the people were nearly destitute of food, and many women and children suffered much from exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and from the lack of the necessities of life, such as they were in former times accustomed to enjoy. But in the midst of all these temporal afflictions, the Saints were comforted in anticipation of better days; they looked forward to the time when these light afflictions should cease, and when they should have the privilege of sitting under their own vine and fig trees, with none to molest them or make them afraid. They were willing to endure hardships and privations, for the sake of escaping the unrelenting persecutions of Gentile Christians, from whom they had received for many years nothing but cruelty and the most heart-rending oppression. Their desire was to establish themselves in some lonely valley of the mountains,—in some sequestered spot, where they and their children could worship God and obey His voice, and prepare themselves for the glory which is to be revealed at the revelation of Jesus Christ. With these glorious anticipations, cheerfulness and joy seemed to animate every countenance, and sufferings were endured without murmuring. The Twelve and other of the authorities met in council, and determined to leave the settlements still further on our left, and launch forth upon the broad prairies on the northwest, which were for hundreds of miles entirely uninhabited.

"Monday 13th.—The weather is yet cold, the thermometer standing at six o'clock in the morning at 3° below the freezing point. Our wagons which were sent after corn returned, and after feeding our half-famished cattle and horses, we resumed our journey. Our teams were so weak, and the roads so bad, we were unable to proceed only about six miles.

"Tuesday 14th.—We moved forward about one mile, and encamped. Some scanty feed began to make its appearance in the wettest portions of the prairie, but the nights are still too cold for the grass.

"Thursday 16th.—We progressed a few miles further, and arrived in a very pleasant grove which we called Paradise, in latitude * * * 40° 44' 7". About one mile to the south, we found the grass very good. Here we stopped several days, a portion of the camp being about one mile north, at a place which they named Pleasant Point.

"Wednesday 22nd.—We continued our journey about eight miles, and encamped over night. Rattle-snakes were quite plenty, numbers were seen in various places

about our camp; some of our animals were bitten and badly poisoned, but the most of them were cured, some in one way, and some in another.

"Friday 24th.—Yesterday we traveled about eight miles, to-day, six miles. We came to a place which we named Garden Grove. At this point we determined to form a small settlement and open farms for the benefit of the poor, and such as were unable at present to pursue their journey further, and also for the benefit of the poor who were yet behind."

While thus traveling from Sugar Creek westward, the Saints were often exposed to fierce winds and to snow, and afterwards, when the winter broke, they were frequently drenched to the skin with rain which poured down in torrents and soaked the ground so thoroughly that it made traveling very laborious and trying to both man and beast, and frequently tents had to be pitched in the mud, as there was no dry spot to be found. But notwithstanding this exposure, the people generally were healthy; there were but few deaths. Elder Orson Spencer was called upon to part with his beloved companion, the wife of his youth and the mother of his children. A nephew of President Young, Edwin Little, was also called away. He was attacked with fever and cold on his lungs, at Sugar Creek.

A circumstance occurred after the camp reached Richardson's Point, which, if related, may be of interest to our readers. One of the brethren left camp to go back and bring forward a load for one of the Saints. After starting, one of his horses sickened and he had to stop. He and one of the brethren who was with him were prompted to lay hands on him. They did so, and the horse recovered immediately. After traveling about two miles the horse was again attacked and more violent-

ly than before. They tried to give him medicine, but could not get him to take it. He lay as if dead. One of the brethren, however, said that he thought there was still breath in him, and proposed to lay hands on him. Some of those present doubted the propriety of laying hands on an animal; they scarcely thought it right. The owner of the horse quoted the words of the Prophet Joel, that in the last days the Lord would pour out His spirit on all flesh. This quotation satisfied them, and six of them laid their hands on him, prayed for his recovery, rebuked the evil influence that was preying upon him and commanded it to depart. The horse immediately rolled over twice, sprang to his feet and was soon well. The next morning he was harnessed, helped draw a good load and worked as well as ever. It must be remembered that this was a time when a horse was very necessary for service; the people had none to spare, and no money to buy more; the brethren who fully realized this were undoubtedly justified in what they did.

"No one not familiar with the circumstances which surrounded the people before and after leaving Nauvoo," writes George Q. Cannon in the *Juvenile Instructor*, "can conceive of the difficulties which President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles had to contend with in leading the people forth into the wilderness. His responsibility was, of course, far greater than that of all others combined; for he was the leader. To him all looked for counsel and guidance. If any were in trouble, they appealed to him for help. If there were difficulties, he had them to settle. The burden and direction of the affairs of the camp

rested upon him, and it required incessant vigilance to maintain proper regulations in the camp, also to have the traveling properly arranged and the labors of the men managed to the best advantage. Let us give you a few instances, that you may form some idea of the weight of care which rested upon President Young during those days.

"Hundreds of men left Nauvoo and crossed the river about the time the Twelve Apostles did. Many of them had but a small amount of provisions, and the teams and wagons that they moved with were furnished for the purpose of assisting the leading men to move and also to haul Church property. Three weeks were spent in camp at Sugar Creek, until teams could be raised to haul the public property that was to go with the leading company, yet there were fifty teams lying there loaded with families who might very properly have waited until they had secured an outfit for themselves. While President Young and the other Apostles were there, eight hundred men reported themselves in camp without a fortnight's provisions. The camp was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo before President Young, who had started with one year's provisions for his family, had fed it all out. The other Apostles were in the same condition. This was a cause of constant embarrassment and difficulty. The men who ought to have been free to go ahead and find a suitable place for a home for the Saints were kept back. It seemed as if the people were determined not to let them proceed on their journey. They not only kept in their company and embarrassed their movements by requiring help

in food, and occupying the teams that should have been used to assist them on their journey; but they exercised faith that the Twelve Apostles might not get far ahead of them. Besides their prayers, there were hundreds at Nauvoo who were praying and importuning the Lord that they might be enabled to overtake the camp. All these were retarding causes, and the camp traveled so slowly that, in speaking upon the subject, President Heber C. Kimball said, it would take years to reach the mountains.

"But while the above were causes of annoyance and perplexity, there were others which were of a more painful character than they were. There were men in the camp who would not be controlled. One of these was a prominent man, who, instead of giving trouble, should have aided in warding it off. Bishop George Miller was unmanageable; he would not observe order, and could not be controlled. Finally, President Young was compelled to say that he would be disfellowshipped from the camp unless he repented. This may have had some effect upon him for the time being; but if it had any, it was only temporary. He continued to manifest a disposition to draw off by himself, and to travel when and as he pleased. * * * President Young remarked on one occasion that Bishop Miller sought to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he could not prosper in so doing; he would yet run against a snag, he said, and call on him and the camp for help. This prediction was literally fulfilled not many months after. Himself and company did get into trouble through his running ahead, and help had to

be extended to him. Within one year from the time of which we write, he openly apostatized, left the camp of the Saints, and moved to Texas, where Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, had gone. He did not remain long there, but moved from that section of the country and joined Strang. Not long after this he died.

"There were others, as well as he, whose conduct was painful in the extreme to the servants of the Lord. There were a few men in some of the companies who would pass spurious coin, or bogus money, as it was called, upon the people when they had an opportunity. This brought a disgrace upon the whole camp; for if one man who calls himself a Latter-day Saint, or 'Mormon,' does a mean or wicked act, it is not usual for him alone to be blamed; but it is generally saddled upon the entire people. One day as Presidents Young and Kimball were standing together at the latter's tent, they heard an outcry at an adjacent camp. They immediately repaired thither, and they found that the principal man of that camp and three others were quarreling about some property. It appeared that this man had let one of the others have some bogus money with which he was to buy property, and they were to share the profits. The man to whom he had given this money had not paid him the share which had been agreed upon; hence the quarrel.

"An honest person can imagine how grievous and disgusting such proceedings would be to men like Presidents Young and Kimball. The former sharply reproved them for their conduct, and he told this prin-

cipal man, that he could not govern himself, his family, or a company, and unless he repented and forsook his dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him and against all those who partook of such corruption. His words were fulfilled to the letter. He and his whole family became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him. The man also to whom he gave the bogus money to pass, eventually lost his standing in the Church and went down.

"Then there were men who broke the Sabbath and were careless about their other duties. There were others who were selfish and cared nothing for the rights of their brethren. We will relate an instance to illustrate this. One of the brethren who had been appointed to purchase corn, of which there was a scarcity in camp, made a bargain for a considerable quantity at 20 cents a bushel, for which he was to pay in feathers. You will doubtless think that feathers were a singular kind of pay; and if we did not explain, you would wonder where feathers could be obtained in the camp to sell for corn. But these were feather beds which the Saints parted with to get provender for their animals, and, in some instances, food for themselves. They not only sold their feather beds, but they sold their crockery, cooking utensils, and such things as they could possibly spare. They thought they were destitute enough when they started from Nauvoo; but they were becoming accustomed to hardships, and they were willing to deprive themselves of articles which, under other circumstances, they would have thought they could not

have lived without. This they did through the love which they had for the gospel of Jesus Christ; and those who really had this love rejoiced and were happy in doing these things.

"Having explained how Brother Howard Egan had feathers to sell for corn, we will return to the incident we were relating. Soon after he had made this bargain for the corn, another brother from the camp came up. He told the stranger that he would give him 25 cents per bushel for his corn, and he would pay him cash. Such an offer would be too tempting for many men to refuse, and this man accepted it, and the man who offered the cash, and the five cents more on the bushel, got the corn.

"The reader can perceive from these few incidents which we have related, how many were the cares and anxieties which rested upon the leading men, but especially upon President Young. The people were a good people, the best to be found in the world, for they were ready to forsake their homes and launch forth into an unknown wilderness for the sake of their religion; but they had many weaknesses, they were inexperienced, and many were ignorant. The responsibility which rested upon President Young was so great that he became greatly reduced in flesh, and his coat, that would scarcely meet around him before he started from Nauvoo, in the month of May, lapped over twelve inches! He entreated the people to be more united in spirit, and not to pray in such a manner that their faith was operating against the camp progressing on its journey. If a change did not take place, he felt that he would be brought down to his grave. He re-

marked in a public meeting that he could scarcely keep from lying down and sleeping to await the resurrection. * * *

"Up to the latter part of March the organization of the camp was very imperfect. At the time it was decided that the Saints should remove from Nauvoo, about twenty-five men were selected by the general council and called captains of hundreds. It was the business of each one of these to select one hundred families, and to see that they were prepared for a journey across the Rocky Mountains. After the captains of hundreds were chosen, they selected their own captains of fifties and of tens, clerks, etc.

"At the time appointed, such as were ready, out of these companies, commenced leaving Nauvoo. * * * Others followed from day to day and night to night, and an encampment was formed on the bank of the river and afterwards on Sugar Creek. After the arrival of President Young and the Apostles there, a partial organization was entered into. This was further advanced when the camp reached Richardson's Point. But so many who traveled with the camp for the purpose of rendering assistance for a little season returned to Nauvoo, and the different divisions were so far separated from each other by storms, bad roads and other circumstances, that it was impossible to effect anything like a perfect organization for the first few weeks.

"On the 27th of March, at the council called for the purpose of effecting a more perfect organization, the captains of fifties were called for by President Young. He responded to his own call by naming himself as the captain of the first fifty, Elder

Heber C. Kimball responded as captain of the second fifty, Elder Parley P. Pratt of the third fifty, Peter Haws of the fourth fifty, Elder John Taylor of the fifth fifty and Bishop George Miller of the sixth fifty.

"President Young was unanimously elected President over the whole Camp of Israel. Brother Ezra T. Benson was elected captain over the first hundred, Brother John Smith captain of the second hundred, and Brother Samuel Bent captain of the third hundred. The captains of fifties chosen were: Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Charles C. Rich and John Chrisman. These took the places of the former captains of fifties, who were promoted to be presidents over their divisions of fifties, except that of the first hundred, which was laid over for further consideration.

"Besides the captains, there was a clerk appointed for the whole camp—Brother William Clayton—and a clerk for each of the fifties. These were: John D. Lee, John Pack, George Hales, Lorenzo Snow, John Oakley and Asahel A. Lathrop. Elder Willard Richards was sustained as the standing historian for the Church and camp.

"Then there was a contracting commissary appointed for each fifty. The duties of this officer was to counsel with the others, agree on terms, prices, etc., in purchasing corn, fodder, provisions and such articles as might be needed by their respective companies. Their names were: Henry G. Sherwood—who was also the acting commissary general for the camp—David D. Yearsley, William H. Edwards, Peter Haws, Samuel Gully and Joseph Warthen.

"A distributing commissary was also appointed for each fifty. Their names were: Charles Kennedy, Jedediah M. Grant, Nathan Tanner, Orson B. Adams, James Allred and Isaac Allred. The duties of these officers were to make a righteous distribution among their fifties, of grain, provisions and such articles as were furnished for the use of the camp.

"This organization of the camp led to a more systematic method of traveling and attending to other duties. The companies were in a better condition to be controlled. The officers understood their duties, and generally attended to them, and the members of the companies had by this time learned the necessity of obedience and strict attention to order. At a counsel meeting subsequent to this, President Young told those present that they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that camp, but to the Saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch, who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the camp of Israel. But there had been some things done which were wrong. He also sketched a plan for forming settlements on the road, at which the Saints who came on, who had not the means to proceed on their journey, could stop and recruit their finances and obtain what they needed to proceed on their journey to the mountains.

"The plan which President Young proposed was that the Camp of Israel proceed to a point on Grand River, and fence in a large field,

build a number of log cabins, plow some land and put in spring crops, and thus spend the time till the weather settled; then select men and families to take care of the improvements while the rest of the camp should proceed westward. He also proposed to send men back from Grand River to look out a new and better road, so that the companies which were coming out from Nauvoo might avoid the bad roads, creeks and settlements through which the leading camp had passed. The settlement on Grand River could be made a stopping place for those who had not sufficient means to proceed on their journey.

"The Saints * * * left Nauvoo in February; from that time until the 19th of April, no out-door meeting had been held. The weather had been too severe to hold such meetings. That day was Sunday, and it was fine. A meeting was called and the Saints felt that it was a great privilege to assemble together once more. * * * But though they held an out-door meeting on the 19th of April, the day was not altogether fine. The 10th of May was the first Sunday which they had from the time of leaving Nauvoo, that was entirely free from storms.

"On the 24th of April a place for a settlement was selected on Grand River, to which the name of Garden Grove was given. At the council, which was held two days after, three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men were reported in camp, besides trading commissaries and herdsman. From these one hundred were selected to make rails, under the superintendence of C. C. Rich, James Pace, Lewis D. Wilson and Stephen Markham. Ten, under James All-

red, were appointed to build fences; forty-eight, under Father John Smith, to build houses; twelve, under Jacob Peart, to dig wells; ten, under A. P. Rockwood, to build bridges. The remainder, under the direction of Daniel Spencer, to be employed in clearing land, plowing and planting. There was no room for idlers there. The camp was like a hive of bees, every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and were happy. President Young was full of zeal and courage himself, and his example had a good effect upon the rest. When the weather became favorable, meetings were often held, and the people were instructed and encouraged. At a meeting at Garden Grove he told the Saints that some had turned back, and perhaps more would, but he hoped better things of them. Said he:

“We have set out to find a land and a resting place, where we can serve the Lord in peace. We will leave some here, because they cannot go further at present. They can stay here and recruit, and by and by pack up and come on, while we go a little further and lengthen out the cords and build a few more Stakes; and so continue on until we can gather all the Saints, and plant them in a place where we can build the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains.”

“At the same meeting he said:

“I know that if this people will be united and will hearken to counsel, the Lord will give them every desire of their hearts. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and He intends that the Saints shall possess it as soon as they are able to bear prosperity.”

“While founding a settlement and providing a stopping place for the Saints who could not, for the want of means, proceed further on their journey, President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles were not forgetful of what they had

to do towards finding a final resting place. At Garden Grove President Young had an examination made to learn what available means there was in camp to furnish an outfit for 100 young men to go over the Rocky Mountains to put in crops: This appeared to rest constantly on his mind, and though this company of pioneers was not fitted out that year, for various reasons, yet he never lost sight of it for an hour; but all his plans and movements shaped to that end. At Garden Grove he had a list of articles made out which would be required for an outfit. Each man was to have 250 pounds of flour, with other necessary articles in proportion; and every four persons were to have one wagon, four oxen or mules and one cow. Speaking upon this subject of a company going ahead, President Young told the Saints in public meeting that:

“When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our (the Twelve Apostles') counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread or destitute of clothing, but all would be provided for, as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, ‘Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go, we want to go, and be with you;’ and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the Saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind, forget-

ting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property.'

"Elder Samuel Bent was appointed to preside at Garden Grove, and Elders Aaron Johnson and David Fullmer were appointed as his Counselors. It was also voted that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him by the Presidency in proportion to the number of his family.

"Men were sent out to find another place at which a settlement could be formed, and on the 11th of May President Young and many others started from Garden Grove. Before they left that point, however, President Samuel Bent had a letter of instructions given to him. Land had been fenced by the companies which were going on west. This he was instructed to divide among those who were remaining; but to let no man have the use or occupancy of land which he did not till. He was also instructed to see that the crops were secured and cared for, and to teach the law of tithing to the Saints, to receive their tithes and to disburse them for the benefit of the poor and sick. On the 18th of May President Young and several of the Apostles reached the middle fork of Grand River. Here they found Brother Parley P. Pratt encamped. After crossing the bridge, which the leading company had built over the stream, they ascended a hill and found a mass of grey granite, which had the appearance of an ancient altar, the parts of which had fallen apart in various directions as though separated by fire. This mass of granite was the more remarkable because in that country there was no rock to be seen. Brother Parley had

called this place Mount Pisgah. * * The camp was now in the country of the Pottawattamie Indians, and they occasionally were seen by the people.

"Until the 2nd of June, the day President Young left Mount Pisgah to proceed on his journey with the camp westward, he and the other Apostles were busy counseling and directing the labors of the Saints in forming a settlement. Councils and meetings were held, at which it was decided that the Twelve Apostles, Bishop Whitney, and the records and other Church property should proceed on the journey westward. Those who did not have a sufficient outfit to proceed through were counseled to remain there. Farming land was selected, and a united effort was made to break it up, to fence it and put in crops. In these labors those who were going on shared with those who were remaining. Though selfishness was not entirely overcome, yet there was a general disposition among the faithful Saints to help one another and to labor for each other's good. It was a day of sacrifice. Many had left valuable property, and all, even the poorest, had left something, and had gladly started out into the wilderness, to face its terrors, endure its hardships and fatigues and wander they knew not whither, except that they knew that God, through His servants, would guide them to a suitable land; and they had done this for the sake of the Gospel. They were determined to worship God and to keep all His commandments, and as mobs of wicked men would not suffer them to do this at Nauvoo and the surrounding country, they were willing to go to any land to which

the Almighty would lead them, where they could dwell in peace and enjoy the religion He had revealed to them. The scenes they had passed through made them feel as one family, and they sympathized with and were willing to help each other. Circumstances like these have the effect, upon people who are in possession of the Gospel, to draw them closely together and to take interest in each other's welfare.

"Elder Wm. Huntington was chosen as President of Mount Pisgah, and Elders Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his Counselors.

"The camp was now traveling in an Indian country. There were no settlements, no scattered houses or fields, no traveled roads larger than an Indian trail, but the whole country through which the Saints now passed was in a state of nature such as had existed for many long centuries. The season, by the time they left Mount Pisgah, was so far advanced that the effects of the spring rains had passed away. The country was more elevated than that east of this latter point, and though there was a new road to break all the way, the journey was made with comparative ease. There were several bridges to build over streams which had to be crossed; but these were not causes of serious detention, for a company of pioneers went ahead of the main camp to perform this labor.

"On the 14th of June President Young's company and all the leading companies encamped in the form of a hollow square on the bank of the Missouri River, not far from Council Bluffs. But the next day a council was held, and it was decided to move back from the river on to

the Bluffs. The object of this move was to get good spring water and to be away from the Omaha Indians, while a ferryboat was being built with which to cross the river. For this labor a number of suitable men were assigned, who were under the direction of Brother Frederick Kesler.

"The Pottawattamie Indians treated the Saints kindly, and their chiefs showed them favor. The stay of the camp at this point was, on this account, very pleasant, as the cattle and horses could be left to roam at large over the bluffs and plains in perfect security."

The news of the dedication of the Temple in Nauvoo which reached the camp on the Missouri River early in June, 1846, caused great rejoicings among the faithful Saints. Whatever now might be the future fate of the building, they had done their duty, and they were released, by the cruel and outrageous acts of the wicked in driving them from it, from further care and responsibility concerning it.

After the camp had reached the Bluffs, Brothers Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, two of the Twelve Apostles, joined it with their companies. Elder Hyde had been laboring at Nauvoo (see page 837), and Brother Woodruff had been presiding over the Church in Europe.

June 29, 1846, the ferryboat, which was built on the bank of the Missouri River for the purpose of crossing, was launched, and on the next day President Young and several of the Apostles moved down to the river for the purpose of crossing.

President Young was still very anxious to have a company go ahead

that season to secure a location for the Saints in the mountains. He proposed the organization of such a company to the camp, and that it be composed of men only, the families to follow on afterwards. Many expressed their willingness to go and leave their families. He told the Saints that everything that men and hell could invent would be hatched up to prevent the camp from making any progress. He was strongly moved upon to speak plainly to them upon the subject, and said that if the Church should be blown to the four winds and never gathered again, he wished them to remember that he had told them how, when and where to gather, and that if they did not so gather, to remember and bear him witness in the day of judgment.

There were good reasons for his anxiety on this subject at this time, though they were unknown to him. Even while he was thus addressing the camp, a scheme which had been arranged was then being carried out, that would have the effect to prevent the journey to the mountains that season of such a company as he proposed. We refer to the orders from the government for the raising of a battalion of five hundred men, known in history as the "Mormon Battalion."

The late General Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge Kane, of Philadelphia, came to the camp in June, 1846, about the time that Colonel Allen did (see *Mormon Battalion*), having been sent by President Polk as a bearer of dispatches to Fort Leavenworth. It was there that he first made the acquaintance of President Young and the Apostles, and saw the people in the midst of the trying circumstances which surrounded

them. Though quite a young man at the time, he took a warm interest in their welfare. He was taken dangerously sick in camp, and it was only with the most careful nursing and strict attention that his life was saved. He never forgot this kindness, and, upon his return to Philadelphia, he delivered an address before the Historical Society of that city, in which he described in the most eloquent and touching language the scenes through which the Latter-day Saints had passed, and the patriotic sacrifice which they had made to raise the battalion called for by the government. Probably no document of its size has ever described in more graphic and striking language, the trials and sufferings of the Latter-day Saints to the reader than this.

July 16, 1846, Ezra T. Benson was ordained an Apostle, to take the place of John E. Page, who had fallen. On the same day Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were appointed on a mission to England, on which mission they started on the 31st of that month, to regulate the affairs of the Church in that land. On the 21st of July twelve men were selected to preside in all matters, spiritual and temporal, at Council Bluffs. Instructions were given to them to attend as speedily as convenient to locating and arranging for the stopping of the Saints, those already at Council Bluffs and those who might come on that season, as well as to use all the means in their power to have all the poor Saints brought from Nauvoo. They were also instructed to do everything in their power to assist in taking charge of the families of those who had gone as volunteers in

the battalion. Instructions were given also for the establishment of schools for the education of the children during the winter.

Captain Allen had secured from the chiefs representing the Pottawatamie tribe of Indians at Council Bluffs their voluntary consent for the Latter-day Saints to make their lands a stopping place, and to cultivate any part of them not then cultivated by themselves, so long as they (the Pottawattamies) should remain in possession of their present country. He also wrote a letter, to be used whenever occasion might require it, stating, over his official signature, what he had done and advised in the premises. The Indian sub-agent of that tribe of Indians had also endorsed in a letter the action of the Indians, and of Colonel Allen as being wise and proper under the circumstances. General Kane wrote a letter to the President of the United States, enclosing a copy of these documents, and giving his personal endorsement to the measure. He said that while he could see no reason why the "Mormon" people should not winter in the valleys of that neighborhood, he considered it exceedingly important that they should be allowed the privilege of so doing, as no advice to them had been opposed to the crossing of the Missouri River of so large a body of them during that year.

Aug. 1, 1846, the council addressed a letter to Bishop Miller and the companies with him, he having gone out in the direction of the Pawnee village, in which they reported the condition of the camp, an account of the organization of the battalion and the intention to encamp with the main body somewhere on or near the

Missouri River for the winter. He was told that the council did not think it advisable for any part of the companies to undertake to cross the mountains that fall. Measures were taken at the main camp by President Young and the council to organize affairs for the season. Twelve men were chosen to be the Municipal High Council, who were to take measures to gather the Saints together at one place under the necessary regulations. The camp was gathered together at a grove which was called Cutler's Park, after Alpheus Cutler, who was chosen as President of the Municipal High Council. Instructions were given to the people to immediately proceed to the cutting of hay in sufficient quantities to supply the stock of the camp during the winter.

It was at the time when the last of the Saints were being driven out of Nauvoo in September, 1846, that the Saints in the Camp of Israel were thus laboring to prepare themselves for the winter. On the 11th of September (1846) a site for building winter quarters was selected on the west bank of the Missouri River, at a point now known as Florence, six miles north of Omaha, Neb. At this place a temporary city was laid out, to which the Saints immediately commenced to gather. A committee of twelve was appointed to arrange the city into Wards, over each of which a Bishop was appointed to preside, whose duty it was to relieve the poor and sick, help the families of those in need, and to see that the Saints attended to their duties. The following is the list: First Ward, Levi E. Riter; 2nd, William Fossett; 3rd and 4th, Benjamin Brown; 5th and 6th, John Vance; 7th, Edward Hun-

ter; 8th, David Fairbanks; 9th, Daniel Spencer; 10th, Joseph Matthews; 11th, Abraham Hoagland; 12th, David D. Yearsley; 13th, Joseph B. Noble.

Every family labored diligently to construct some kind of a house, in which they could be sheltered for the winter. The houses were built chiefly of logs, and covered with clapboards, or with willows and dirt. Many dug caves in the side of the hill, and made very comfortable dwelling places of them.

This place, which was named Winter Quarters, was laid out regularly into streets, and occupied a fine location. The Indians gave considerable trouble, stealing cattle and pilfering, as they looked upon the Saints as intruders upon their lands, and they said that if their land was occupied, their grass used, their timber cut down, and their game shot, they had a right to something in return, and therefore being in want of food they helped themselves to cattle belonging to the Saints. The chief, Big Elk, said he would do all he could to restrain his people, but he had bad young men among them who would not be controlled, and he could not prevent them stealing when the cattle were all around them. They did not like white people, and they did not like him very well because he told them that the white men would do them good. The conduct of the Indians prompted President Young to counsel the people to build a stockade around Winter Quarters. This was a great protection, and kept the Indians out to a very great extent. A large portion of the stock was sent north, on to what was called the Rush Bottoms—a place where rushes grew in great

profusion, and furnished excellent feed for animals, if given to them carefully. If eaten too freely, or if eaten when the weather was cold enough to freeze the water contained in the top part of the rush, they were dangerous, and sometimes killed the animals that ate them.

Bishop Miller's camp, as he himself reported to the Twelve at Winter Quarters, was at the junction of the Running Water and Missouri Rivers, 153 miles north of Winter Quarters. He reported his camp in good health, and occupying a good situation, with plenty of feed for their stock, in the rushes of the Running Water.

The course which President Young and the Camp of Israel took with the Indians they were brought in contact with, and on whose lands they located, had the effect of producing good feelings among them. But there were some meddlesome persons who seemed determined to make trouble for the Saints, on account of their having temporarily settled on land claimed by the Omaha and Pottawattamie Indians. Major H. M. Harvey, superintendent of Indian Affairs, called on President Young at Winter Quarters, Nov. 1, 1846, and stated that he wished the camp to remove from the lands belonging to the Indians, and complained of the Saints burning the Indians' wood. He stated that he had received letters from the Department of Indian Affairs on the subject, and that his instructions were that no white persons should be permitted to settle on the lands of the Indians without the authority of Government. President Young explained to him that their delay had been caused by the demand that had been made on them

by the government to furnish troops. The most efficient men of the camp had gone as soldiers to Mexico in the service of the United States, and their families were left destitute and dependent on their friends in the camp, who could not proceed without leaving them to suffer. It was clearly evident that the movement was instigated by the enemies of the Saints who were not content to see them enjoy peace and rest even in mud hovels and dirt roofed cabins. Though the Indians had committed a number of depredations, such as the stealing of stock from them, the Saints had less to fear from them, if left to act on their own inclinations, than from the interference of white men.

President Young wrote to Big Elk, chief of the Omaha Indians, requesting him to restrain his Indians from stealing, and sent him some presents. A number of letters also passed between the High Council in Winter Quarters and Major Harvey on the question of settlement on Indian lands, and Wm. Clayton was dispatched to Council Bluffs to get from him a copy of his instructions from Washington. It afterwards appeared that the department at Washington did not evince half the anxiety about the encroachment on Indian lands that Major Harvey represented, but the probability was that he had been induced by others to exercise his authority so as to annoy the "Mormons." In answer to President Young's letter to him, Big Elk paid him a visit and apologized for the depredations committed by the few unruly Indians of his tribe, expressed his gratitude for the presents sent him and promised to try to restrain his Indians, and excused

them by saying that the whites who visited them represented the "Mormons" as being a very bad set of people, a statement which supported the Saints in the belief, that they had for some time entertained, that the Indians were prompted by white men to steal from and probably make a violent outbreak upon them.

Through the intercession of Judge J. K. Kane, the father of the late General Thomas L. Kane, previously mentioned, permission was finally obtained from the President and Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., for the Saints to remain during the winter on the lands of the Pottawattamies. Colonel (later General) Kane, wishing to show his appreciation of the kind treatment he had received from the hands of the Saints while lying sick in their midst, used his influence in their favor, and was especially active in trying to secure to them the right of remaining where they had established their winter quarters until they could proceed on their journey. Sickness had prevented him from doing so himself, but his father had acted for him, as was shown by the result. On recovering from his sickness, Colonel Kane wrote to Elder Willard Richards, that he also intended to secure a lease from the government of the Omaha lands, on which some of the Saints were located, and said: "Trust me, it is not fated that my forces shall depart before I have righted you at the seat of government, and have at least assured to you a beginning of justice besides an end of wrong."

During the winter of 1846-47, President Young and his brethren of the Tuele, and other Elders, were diligent in laboring among the Saints

at Winter Quarters, and a spirit of reformation prevailed in the camp. "Meetings," writes George Q. Cannon, "were frequently held, and they were well attended. The weather was cold; but great exertions had been made by the Saints to provide shelter for themselves. The widows and fatherless were cared for, and pains were taken to supply the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion with what they needed. A large portion of the people erected log houses as residences. Many availed themselves of the slope of the hill, on the side of which a part of Winter Quarters was laid out, to construct 'dug-outs' as dwellings. By 'dug-outs' we mean cellars, the entrance to which being made on the lower side, enabled those who occupied them to go in and out without having to use many steps, and when properly roofed in were not very uncomfortable dwellings during steady cold weather. Provisions could not be obtained in great variety. The principal diet of the people that winter was corn-bread and pork. In many instances these articles were not very plentiful. Corn and pork were bought in Missouri, and frequent trips were made from the camp to that State during the winter to obtain the necessary supplies. There were but few grist-mills in the part of the State where the grain was bought, and there was great difficulty, therefore, in getting grinding done. At Winter Quarters wheat was frequently boiled whole and thus eaten, and many families subsisted for weeks on corn ground in hand mills. The meal of corn thus ground was not as smooth and pleasant eating as the meal we now get from our grist-mills; but hunger furnished

the appetite to make it palatable and digestible. We presume that those, at least, who did the grinding never failed to enjoy the bread and mush cooked from their grists. In those days a person who owned a good hand mill was considered a very fortunate individual. We patronized one owned by Brother John Van Cott, who very generously let his neighbors use it freely and without taking any toll. We have met with some people in our travels in the world who would not have failed to avail themselves of such an opportunity of making profit; for their mode of reasoning was that an article or service of any kind was worth all it would bring; the greater the demand, the higher the price to be paid; the scarcity of the article enhancing its value. But in those days the spirit of gain was not common among the Saints. They were fellow-sufferers from mobocracy, and the scenes they had shared in common caused them to have sympathy one for another that under more favorable circumstances might have remained dormant. * * *

"Seeing the great need of a mill, President Young took steps to erect one. It was a time of rejoicing at Winter Quarters when it was completed, and the necessity of using coffee-mills and hand mills to grind grain no longer existed.

"Among other difficulties with which the Saints at Winter Quarters had to contend, was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy or 'black-leg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffer-

ing and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes brought from Missouri had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. A few miles above Winter Quarters there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned for some time. There horse-radish was discovered growing, which proved a great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for scurvy.

"The Indians were troublesome in taking and killing stock, and an Indian war might easily have been provoked in consequence, had the people been disposed to have one. But President Young took great pains in instructing the people as to the just and proper manner to treat Indians, and also in cultivating the spirit of friendship in the Indians themselves. When it is considered that the Saints were living on Indian land, and in the midst of tribes with whom government had made no treaties for the possession of their country, it is wonderful that so little difficulty occurred. * * *

"During the dreary winter spent by the Saints at Winter Quarters, President Young and those engaged with him in presiding made it their study to devise means of employment for them, knowing that they would be more contented and happy if kept constantly at work, than if allowed to be idle. * * * In directing the labors of the camp, President Young displayed the same wisdom and foresight which had so prominently marked his career from the time of the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A grist-mill was projected, not because the Saints expected that they would occupy the site of Winter Quarters permanently

and reap any great benefit or profit from the use of the mill, but rather because if some such employment as the building of it could not be found for the men during the winter they would be idle, and as President Young expressed it, if the Saints did not reap any material benefit from it, the Indians, whose lands they then occupied, probably would. In addition to the building of the mill and the digging of the race for it, and providing shelter for their families, a council house was built in which to hold meetings, etc., and the manufacture of willow baskets, washboards, half-bushel measures, etc., was entered into quite extensively. These were the only manufactures that could be engaged in with any certainty of a return for their labors. Such wares they hoped to be able to sell in the settlements of Missouri when spring opened. To prevent the Saints from becoming cool and indifferent in regard to their religion the greatest vigilance was enjoined upon the Bishops in watching over those over whom they presided. Meetings were often held, and the people put through a course of systematic drilling to impress upon them the necessity of living near unto God, as they were about to venture forth to seek out and make new homes in a land with which they were totally unacquainted, and in journeying to which they must look to God for guidance. As a result of the effort made to stir them up to diligence and the great wisdom displayed in the government of the camp, it was a model for good order and peaceful, harmonious regulations. While those presiding exerted themselves to promote the spiritual welfare of the Saints they did not

show a disposition to deprive them of enjoyment; on the contrary they encouraged recreation of an innocent nature.

"After the completion of the Council House, arrangements were made for a number of dancing parties and festivals to be held in it, and President Young proposed to show them how to go forth in the dance in a manner acceptable before the Lord. He did so by offering up prayer to God at the opening and closing of the exercises and permitting only modest deportment and decorum throughout.

"The organization of companies for the journey further west was proceeded with and all things were got in readiness for companies to start as soon as the weather and the supply of grass might be considered favorable. Arrangements were also made to have as many as possible of the Saints in the small branches scattered throughout the different States fit themselves out with teams and follow on. They could not hope to raise teams sufficient to transport the Saints with their luggage, their provisions to last them a year, their seed grain and farming utensils at one trip, but President Young presented a plan which if carried out in the right spirit would have the desired effect. That was for those who could fit themselves out well for the trip, or be fitted out by their friends who should remain, to proceed as pioneers to the mountains prepared to raise a crop for the sustenance of themselves and those who should follow, and on their arrival at their destination return as many teams as possible to assist on those remaining behind. By pursuing this system of co-operation it was

thought the widows and fatherless as also the destitute families of the men who had gone in the battalion could be assisted to Zion without having cause to feel that even the poorest of them were neglected."

It was rather remarkable that the Saints got along so well as they did during the winter following their expulsion from Nauvoo in their temporary and hastily built town of Winter Quarters and the various camps in that western country where they located to await the opening of spring, when they expected to renew their journey. Considering the destitute condition in which their enemies left them after expelling them from their comfortable homes and flourishing farms, at such an inclement season, to wander among strangers and seek out new homes in western wilds, when there was little or no work to be had at which to earn a livelihood, it is a wonder that many of them did not starve to death. In the fall of 1846, throughout Upper Missouri, wheat was worth from 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 25 cents, and corn from 10 to 12 cents per bushel, but in view of the increased demand likely to arise for grain through the necessities of the Saints, who would be obliged to purchase their supplies there, wheat was raised to from 40 to 50 cents, and corn 20 to 25 cents per bushel. These do not seem very high prices in Utah, but it must be remembered that at that time money was exceedingly scarce in those parts and wages very low, so that ordinarily a person could buy as much in the provision line, such as wheat, potatoes, corn, pork, etc., for 10 cents as can be bought in Utah for one dollar.

President Young directed in the organization of the companies to

start in the spring and counseled them in the minutiae of outfitting, that they might journey without disorder or confusion.

Jan. 14, 1847, President Young received at Winter Quarters a revelation as the "word and will of the Lord, concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the west." (See Doc. & Cov., Sec. 136.) In this revelation the Saints were commanded to organize into companies, with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, and journey to a place where the Lord would locate a Stake of Zion. They were all to use their influence and property for this purpose and enter into a covenant to keep the commandments of God.

In February, 1847, the news reached Winter Quarters that a mob near Farmington, Iowa, had attempted to kill Brothers William H. Folsom, Rodney Swazey and others. These mobbers hung Elder Folsom until he was almost dead, and when his friends finally came to the rescue, they had much difficulty in restoring him to life. The mobbers also hung Brother Swazey by the heels for about five minutes. Six other brethren were treated in a somewhat similar manner.

In preparing to go with the pioneer company from Winter Quarters to the Great Basin, President Young and his brethren took the necessary precautions to insure the safety and good government of the Saints who remained behind. Ample counsel was given upon this and kindred subjects, and further measures were taken to build the proposed stockade around Winter Quarters, and to have the people labor together unitedly. Houses that were outside of the established line for the stockade

were moved inside, and everything possible was done to secure the people from Indian attacks. Those who were living in "dug-outs," as the houses were called which were dug in the sides of the hill, were counseled to build houses on the top of the ground to live in during the summer, so that sickness might be avoided. Other counsel was given in relation to their buildings which would increase the healthfulness and comfort of the residents. President Young gave excellent counsel to the authorities and the people respecting their dealings with the Indians. He condemned the practice of shooting Indians, so common among other communities settled in the Indian country, for any and every offense that they might commit, and advised the brethren to avoid encouraging or giving place to feelings of hostility and bloodshed. Arrangements were also made to take care of the poor and the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion. The brethren who had gone to Punca were instructed to move down to Winter Quarters as quickly as possible, and to put in a spring crop.

Bishop Miller, who had been the leader of the company to Punca, was already at Winter Quarters. He had indulged in a bad spirit for some time, and his mind was clouded with darkness. While preparations were being made for the pioneers to go west, at a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and other Elders, he gave his views relative to the Church removing to Texas, to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande Rivers. That was the best country, he thought, for the Church to emigrate to. Lyman Wight was already in Texas, whither he had

gone from Nauvoo, taking with him such as would follow his guidance and Miller's inclinations were in the same direction. President Young informed Miller that his views were wild and visionary; that when the Saints moved from that point they would go to the Great Basin, where they would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs. But this had little effect upon Miller; he soon afterwards left Winter Quarters with his family and a few others over whom he had influence, and went to Texas, where he joined Lyman Wight. He lived there for a while until he and Wight quarrelled, when he moved north again and joined Strang, and subsequently died an apostate from the Church.

In the beginning of April, 1847, the Pioneers, under the leadership of Brigham Young, started to find a new location for the Saints in the Rocky Mountains. From this perilous journey they returned Oct. 31, 1847. (See *Pioneers of 1847*.) Several large companies of Saints from Winter Quarters followed the Pioneers to the valley the following summer and fall, under the leadership of Daniel Spencer, Parley P. Pratt, A. O. Smoot, George B. Wallace, C. C. Rich, Edward Hunter, John Taylor, J. M. Grant and others. Altogether about two thousand souls, and nearly six hundred wagons arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1847.

President Young and his brethren of the Twelve, after their return from the Great Salt Lake Valley, were soon busily engaged in administering to the wants and comforts of the Saints on the frontiers. There was plenty of work to be done in ar-

ranging for the Saints who had not gathered to Winter Quarters, in caring for those already there and in making preparations for the journey the next year of those who were able to come to the valleys. Brother John S. Fullmer, one of the three trustees who had been left in Nauvoo to settle up the affairs of the Church, sell the property, etc., was at Winter Quarters and reported their proceedings in Nauvoo to the Twelve. It was voted in council that the trustees gather all the papers and books pertaining to church affairs in Nauvoo and as soon as they had sold as much of the property as they could, they should gather up to Council Bluffs. Elder Jesse C. Little, who had made the journey to the valley and back with the pioneers, was instructed to resume his presidency over the eastern churches. Elder John Brown, another of the pioneers, was appointed to labor in the Southern States, and a large number of Elders were also selected to go on missions. Arrangements were also made to vacate Winter Quarters and found a settlement on the east side of the river, at Council Bluffs. This town was afterwards named Kaneshville, in honor of General Thomas L. Kane. The name has since been changed to Council Bluffs. The reason for vacating Winter Quarters was that the land where the town stood belonged to the Indians; it was an Indian territory, the title of which had not been extinguished. The agents of the government were disposed to take advantage of this and annoy the people, and that there might not be the least cause or imaginary cause of confusion on the part of the government, it was deemed best to remove to the other

side of the river. It was voted that until the laws of Iowa were extended over the people of the new settlement at the Bluffs, the Bishops should have authority as civil magistrates among the people. This was necessary that there might be courts to exercise jurisdiction in case of difficulty. The organization of companies to be ready to emigrate in the spring was pushed forward with great zeal during the winter.

Dec. 5, 1847, a council of the Twelve met at Elder Orson Hyde's house, and unanimously elected President Brigham Young President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with authority to nominate his two Counselors. The President appointed Heber C. Kimball as his first and Willard Richards as his second Counselor, and these appointments were unanimously sustained. The next day, besides other items of business, Patriarch John Smith was nominated and sustained as Patriarch over the whole Church. Elder Orson Pratt was appointed to go to England and take charge of the affairs of the Church there, and Elders Orson Hyde and Ezra T. Benson were to go to the East on missions.

On the 27th of December a conference of the Church was held at the new settlement (Kanesville), which was continued until the 29th. A high council was selected for that side of the river, and much important business was transacted, and on the 29th, the last day of the conference, the people confirmed the election of President Young as President of the Church, with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his Counselors. From the death of the Prophet Joseph up to this time, the

Twelve Apostles had acted as the Presidency of the Church.

"The year 1848," writes George Q. Cannon, "opened favorably in the camp at Winter Quarters. Sickness was not so common as it had been the previous winter. A place had been found in the mountains to which the Saints could gather. This was a great relief to the people. From February, 1846, they had been wanderers without a fixed home. They had stopped at many places, but they knew that they were only temporary residences. The land where they were to remain and to commence the building up of Zion was far distant. But now their circumstances were better and more encouraging. The amusements and means of recreation for the people were limited, and, therefore, a dancing school, taught by Hyrum Gates, greatly contributed to the cheerfulness of the community during the winter months. The headquarters of the Camp of Israel was still at Winter Quarters. Of the Apostles there were with President Young at that point at the opening of the year: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith and Willard Richards. Orson Hyde was within call on the other side of the river; Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were at Great Salt Lake Valley, having moved here with that portion of the Church that had followed the pioneers; and Amasa Lyman and Ezra T. Benson were on their way to the Eastern States on a mission. * * * Winter Quarters was on Indian lands, and the government agent was anxious to get the Saints moved off; but he wrote a letter to President Young, in which he prohibited the people from moving their log cabins over

the river to Kaneshville. It was not many weeks after doing this that he wrote another letter to President Young, soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—an appeal that was not made in vain, for the President caused that they should be supplied freely with corn and beef.

“At Kaneshville the people were anxious to have a post office established and a county organization extended over the land on which they had settled. At some meetings held in January, 1848, a petition to the legislature of Iowa was numerously signed, and Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were chosen delegates to carry and present said petition. They attended to this business and learned that the legislature had made provision for the organization whenever the judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa should decree that the ‘public good requires such organization.’ They waited upon Judge Carolton at Iowa City, who informed them that he had appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize said county. The delegation were introduced to the Secretary of State, who expressed a great desire that the Saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. The politicians were very anxious to have a State road laid off, bridges built, and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly alike in numbers in the State, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people. It was not difficult to perceive why they appeared to feel so much interest. They wanted voters, and the party which could gain the ‘Mormon’ vote would carry the State.

“Soon after the visit of the delegation to Iowa City, two delegates—Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon—were selected by the Central Whig Committee of the State of Iowa, to go to the Bluffs, hold a caucus there with the people and present an address from the Whigs of the State. Ill health prevented Lyon from going to the Bluffs, but Sidney Roberts met in caucus there with the leading citizens, and presented his own and Lyon’s credentials. The address reviewed, at length, the persecutions heaped upon the Saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, their leaders, and their cruel expulsion from the States of Missouri and Illinois. The address also dwelt feelingly upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse and persecutions upon the Saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen; and hearing that the ‘greedy cormorants of Loco-focoism’ (the Democrats were sometimes called Loco-focos in those days) were at their heels, and had ‘commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them in the meshes of their crafty net,’ they delegated Messrs. Winsor P. Lyon and Sidney Roberts to visit them and lay before them the national policy of the Whigs and solicit their co-operation; assuring them that their party was pledged to them and the country to ‘a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen in the land.’

“Accompanying the public ad-

dress was a private letter from Hon. John M. Coleman, of the State Executive Committee, addressed to Brigham Young and others. * * * This was a fair letter, and with the address it shows very clearly that when prominent men of the nation look at the Saints without prejudice, they can readily admit that they are an industrious, innocent and persecuted people. It appeared just then to the Whigs an object of interest to speak kindly of and conciliate the Saints, and they became quite eloquent in dwelling upon the wrongs which they had endured. Although it looked rather suspicious to the Saints that the Whigs of Iowa should at that particular time become deeply interested in their welfare, and all of a sudden grow warm and eloquent upon the subject of their expulsion from Missouri, and the martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the sufferings they had endured in the boasted land of freedom, still the caucus concluded to reply to the communications of the Whigs. A preamble was drafted and adopted, in which a lengthy account of the outrages, persecution and proscriptions endured by the Latter-day Saints were set forth; also a resolution declaring that, if the Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended

to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs of Iowa at the election of the current year, and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited.

"In March (1848) a post-office was established at Kanessville, and Brother Evan M. Greene received the appointment of postmaster. A county organization was also obtained, the county being called Pottawattamie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David D. Yearsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Greene, recorder and treasurer; Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates.

"Kanessville was now becoming a point of some importance. It was the intention to abandon Winter Quarters in the spring of 1848, and those who could not move to the valley that season made preparations to settle on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, and whether they opened farms at other points or not, they naturally looked to Kanessville as headquarters. At a conference held there, Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were chosen to labor in Pottawattamie County. Elder Ezra T. Benson was afterwards appointed to labor with them. Besides the Saints who had moved there after the expulsion of the Church from Nauvoo, there were many coming from foreign lands, who not having sufficient means to carry them directly to the valley, needed a half way place at which to stop while they could make the necessary prepara-

tions to prosecute the journey. In May a company of 146 Saints arrived from Great Britain, having been brought up the Missouri River by the steamboat *Mustang*, under the leadership of Elder Franklin D. Richards, assisted by Elders Andrew Cahoon and S. W. Richards. Another company also arrived shortly afterwards under the leadership of Elder Moses Martin. Early in the same month a company of Saints arrived from the States on the steamboat *Mandan*. After the exodus of the Church from Nauvoo the emigration of the Saints from Europe had been stopped until a place of gathering could be found and decided upon. During this period the Saints in Europe had to repress their desires to gather with the people of God. When, therefore, the General Epistle reached them from the Presidency of the Church, informing them, among other things, that a place for the gathering of the people and the building up of Zion had been designated, they gladly received the news and the stream of emigration again began to flow Zionward.

"The persecution and driving out of the Saints from the midst of so-called civilization and their wandering in the wilderness, did not check the preaching of the gospel in Europe, or the baptism of the humble and meek and honest-hearted people who heard its glad sound. In Wales alone, under the Presidency of Elder Dan Jones, during the last six months of 1847, upwards of seven hundred souls were added to the Church; and in other places where the Elders labored the Lord gave them great success in bringing souls unto Him. At the same con-

ference at which Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were appointed to labor in Pottawattamie County, Elders Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff, of the Twelve Apostles, were appointed missions; the first to Great Britain and the second to the Eastern States, Nova Scotia and Canada. Besides these, there were several other prominent Elders sent on missions abroad.

"In the meanwhile active preparations were being made at Winter Quarters for the next summer's journey across the plains to the valley. The Otoe Indians having heard that President Young and the Saints were about to start for the mountains, fifty of them, bearing letters from the Agency, visited Winter Quarters to receive compensation for the occupancy of their lands. Suitable presents were given them and they returned to their villages. On the 9th of May 22 wagons left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River—the place of rendezvous for the organization of the companies intending to move to the mountains that summer. They were followed by others; and on the 26th President Young started from Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn. Through the blessing of the Lord on his industry and good management, he had acquired considerable property during his sojourn at Winter Quarters, in houses, mills and temporary furniture. These he had to leave, making the fifth time that he had left his home and property since he embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ. Brother Heber C. Kimball reached the Elkhorn River on the 1st of June, having 55 wagons in company. It was with very joyful feelings that the Saints bade farewell to Winter Quarters.

There was a long and tiresome journey before them, and the country to which they were going did not possess such natural advantages for settlement and cultivation at that time as to be inviting for a people who sought temporal prosperity only. But to the Saints it was an attractive land. God had chosen and pointed it out as their residence, the place to which He wished them to gather. There they could dwell at peace and worship Him without any to molest or make them afraid. There, under the shadow of the mighty mountains, they could erect their altars, attend to the ordinances which He had revealed and commanded them to observe, extend their settlements, and have no mob to threaten and annoy them. It was, therefore, with joyful feelings that they started forth on the plains to traverse the desert wilds which stretched out between the Missouri River and the mountains.

"May 31, 1848, the organization of President Young's company was commenced by appointing Zera Pulsipher captain of hundred, with John Benbow and Daniel Wood captains of fifties; also, Lorenzo Snow captain of hundred and Heman Hyde and John Stoker captains of fifties. The next day the further organization was proceeded with by the appointment of William G. Perkins as captain of hundred and John D. Lee and Eleazer Miller captains of fifties; also, Allen Taylor captain of hundred and John Harvey and Daniel Carn captains of fifties. Isaac Morley was chosen President of the company, with Reynolds Cahoon and William W. Major as his counselors. Horace S. Eldredge was selected as marsual, and Hosea Stout as captain

of the night guard. President Young was sustained as general superintendent of the emigrating companies, and Daniel H. Wells as his aid-de-camp. In President Young's company there were 1,229 souls, 397 wagons, 74 horses, 19 mules, 1,275 oxen, 699 cows, 184 loose cattle, 411 sheep, 141 pigs, 605 chickens, 37 cats, 82 dogs, 3 goats, 10 geese, 2 hives of bees, 8 doves and 1 crow, the latter owned by Judge Phelps.

"President Heber C. Kimball's company organized by electing Henry Herriman captain of the first hundred, and Titus Billings and John Pack captains of fifties; subsequently Isaac Higbee was appointed captain of a fifty. In his company there were 662 souls, 226 wagons, 57 horses, 25 mules, 737 oxen, 284 cows, 150 loose cattle, 243 sheep, 96 pigs, 299 chickens, 17 cats, 52 dogs, 3 hives of bees, 3 doves, 5 ducks and 1 squirrel.

"On the 29th of June, Amasa Lyman, with a company of 108 wagons, left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River. Dr. Willard Richards left there with his company on the 3rd of July. These companies joined in electing James M. Flake captain of hundred, Franklin D. Richards and James H. Rollins, captains of fifties, and Robert L. Campbell historian of their camp. In these companies there were 502 whites, 24 negroes, 169 wagons, 50 horses, 20 mules, 515 oxen, 426 cows and loose cattle, 369 sheep, 63 pigs, 5 cats, 44 dogs, 170 chickens, 4 turkeys, 7 ducks, 5 doves and 3 goats.

"After Presidents Young and Kimball's companies left Winter Quarters, the place presented a desolate aspect. A terrific thunder storm passed over, accompanied by a hur-

ricane, which tore wagon covers to shreds and whistled fearfully through the empty dwellings. A few straggling Indians camped in the vacated houses and subsisted upon the cattle which had died of poverty, and upon such other articles of food as they could pick up. * * *

"At Ancient Bluff Ruins, on July 12th, Brothers John Y. Greene, Joseph W. Young, Rufus Allen and Isaac Burnham from this valley met President Young and company. They brought several letters, and 18 wagons and teams with which to assist the emigrating companies. Eight of these teams were sent on to Winter Quarters by Daniel Thomas; the others were used in assisting Presidents Young and Kimball's companies. The small amount of help received from the valley at this point was a disappointment. President Young had thought with good reason that the people in the valley would have it in their power, and would esteem it as a pleasure—all having covenanted to help each other until all were gathered to the mountains—to send back teams to help the companies who were on the road into the valley. He and the brethren were disappointed, therefore, in meeting 18 wagons almost broken down, most of them needing the resetting of their tires, six of them without any appearance of a cover, and some even without bows, and many of the cattle footsore; and especially to learn by letter from the valley that these were 'all the teams that we could spare, that were fit to go.' They had hoped to be able, with the help received from the valley, to send teams to Winter Quarters after the mill irons, millstones, printing presses, type, paper, and

carding machine; but with the few wagons and teams which had been sent them this could not be done.

"Three days after meeting these teams, President Young sent a letter under date of July 17th, to the valley. It had the effect to stir up the authorities there to make greater exertions to fit out teams and wagons to send back to help the emigrating companies. That letter reached the valley on the 6th of August. On the 9th it was answered; this answer President Young received on the 23rd of August. Respecting the sending back of help, the letter said:

"As early as was thought prudent we started back all the wagons, oxen and men that the people thought they could spare at the time; and under the circumstances it was deemed best to let that suffice until we could hear from you. We are now busy setting tires, hub-bands, etc., and raising all the men, oxen and well-fitted wagons that we can send to you as speedily as possible, and we shall keep starting them off until we send all we have to spare, or until we receive word from you that you have teams and wagons enough."

"A few days after the receipt of this letter, President Young met, on the Sweetwater, 47 wagons and 124 yoke of cattle, which had been sent from the valley for the assistance of the companies in charge of Brothers Lorenzo Snow and Abraham O. Smoot. This was a timely and most welcome relief. Presidents Young and Kimball then sent back to Winter Quarters, in charge of Allen Taylor, 48 men and boys, 55 wagons, 121 yoke of cattle, 44 mules and horses.

"The season of 1848 was a very dry one; the roads were dusty, the grass was scarce. The teams in the companies were heavily loaded, and in consequence the traveling was slow and tedious. Sixty-three days

were occupied in traveling from the Elkhorn River to the last crossing of the Sweetwater, at an average of 12 miles per day, the companies resting 22 days, including Sundays, to recruit and strengthen the cattle. The loss of cattle on the route was considerable; and it is a fact worthy of notice here that the percentage of deaths of cattle on the plains has always been much greater in trains where cattle brought from the States were worked than in those in which cattle raised in the valleys were used. Trains have been sent from here many seasons to bring up the poor. In going and returning the cattle have traveled upwards of two thousand miles, yet the loss of life among them has been very small. They are accustomed to the kind of feed to be met with on the plains, and will not eat poisonous grass, or drink alkali water, as man, cattle raised in the States do.

"President Young's company was divided into four divisions on the 16th of July, for greater convenience in traveling; and about the same time Brother Kimball's company was divided. Traveling in small companies where grass was scarce was much better for the cattle, and more pleasant for the people, for the dust created by the traveling of a large company of several hundred wagons was very disagreeable.

"Fearing that Dr. Richards and Amasa M. Lyman's company might be weak in teams, Presidents Young and Kimball sent letters by express to them, counseling them, if in difficulty for the want of cattle, to keep their companies together and continue moving so as to get west of the South Pass, and to send word what their circumstances were and what

help they required. They expected to send them all the assistance they needed from the valley. These companies behind were kept well informed of the progress of those ahead of them from the communications left on the way. Sometimes a copy of the camp journal was written and placed in a notch in a tree in some prominent place, sometimes in a post stuck in the ground; but whenever a large buffalo skull or other suitable bones were found near the road, pencils were called into use and some particulars were written on them. In this way much information was communicated to those behind, as very few teamsters who had pencils ever passed good white bones, suitable for writing on, without picking them up or stopping to scribble something on them. In those days buffalo were very numerous on the plains and their skulls were plentifully scattered over the ground.

"The first of President Young's company arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 20th of September, and President Kimball's a few days after. In the first company one boy was drowned in the Elkhorn River, a child of 34 days and a woman of 45 years died, and two persons had their legs broken. Some other slight accidents also occurred. Several children were born on the route. In the last company a girl of six years was killed and a woman of 28 years died, and several children were born. The health of the people was remarkably good, and no better argument in favor of plain, and even meagre living and out-door exercise can be adduced than the excellent health enjoyed by the Saints in crossing the plains in those years and in

the first settlement of this valley. There was but little variety of food and the allowance was very scanty; the people dwelt in tents, and a good covered wagon as a bed room was a luxury that very many did not have; yet good health and vigor were almost universal.

"Teams and wagons were sent back in charge of Elder Jedediah M. Grant to assist President Willard Richards and Amasa M. Lyman's company. The first of the last-named company arrived in Salt Lake Valley October 10th, and President Richards and company on the 19th.

"The First Presidency of the Church were gladly welcomed by the people who were residents of the valley. They rejoiced in the wonderful care and preserving mercies of the Lord which had been over them from the time they left Illinois. The Lord had blessed them in the wilderness; he had fed them, delivered them from the many dangers to which they were exposed and led

them to a safe and healthy retreat, far distant from their former persecutors. The spirit of peace brooded over the land, and having been harassed and annoyed by mobs, they could appreciate the security which they now enjoyed.

About one thousand wagons arrived in the Valley in 1848 with immigrating Saints, and during the few following years large companies continued to arrive. In 1852 the last remnant of the exiles from Nauvoo, who wished to come to the Valley, agreeable to counsel, and others who since the drivings had arrived on the frontiers from different parts of the world, came on to the new headquarters of the Church in the Mountains. Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs), where Orson Hyde had been publishing the *Frontier Guardian*, and where quite a number of Saints from Nauvoo, had been temporarily located since the summer of 1846, was vacated by the Saints in 1852

THE MORMON BATTALION.

In the summer of 1846, while the Saints were journeying westward, away from the borders of civilization, in search of a new home where they might live free and unmolested from mob violence, a call was made upon them by the Federal government to furnish 500 young men to march to California and take part in the war with Mexico. June 26, 1846, Captain James Allen, of the U. S. army arrived at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, where a number of the Saints had located temporarily, and presented in a meeting of the leading men of the place, the following circular to the "Mormons:"

"I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. W. Kearny of the U. S. army, now commanding the army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp and accept the services, for twelve months, of four or five companies of the Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for the period in our present war with Mexico. This force to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

"They will receive pay and rations and other allowances such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all the comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. Thus is offered to the Mormon people now, this

year, an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advance party can thus pave the way, and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

"The pay of a private volunteer is seven dollars per month, and the allowance for clothing is the cost price of clothing of a regular soldier.

"Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp, at the Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

"I will receive all healthy, able men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

"J. ALLEN, Capt. 1st Dragoons.

"Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, 130 miles east of Council Bluffs.

"June 26, 1846.

"Note.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion within six days after reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time."

After due deliberation the brethren at Pisgah advised Captain Allen to visit the authorities of the Church at Council Bluffs, and gave him a letter of introduction to Elder Wm. Clayton, the clerk of the camp. He reached Council Bluffs on the 30th, and immediately placed himself in communication with President Young and his brethren. On the 1st of July he met with them, and presented to them for perusal, the following instructions from his commanding officer:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE WEST,

"Fort Leavenworth, June 19, 1846.

"Sir.—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons, who are desirous of emigrating to California for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers to join me in my expedition to that country; each company to consist of any number between seventy-three and one hundred and nine. The officers of the companies will be

a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the U. S., and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations, and other allowances given to other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will upon mustering into service the fourth company be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant major and quarter-master sergeant for the battalion.

"The companies after being organized will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

"You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc.; you must purchase everything which is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the quarter-master and commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

"You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand, that I wish to take them as volunteers for twelve months, that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements to be furnished to them at this post.

"Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations, and the other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

"With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will, in a few days, be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"S. W. KEARNY, Col. of 1st Dragoons.

"CAPTAIN JAMES ALLEN,

"1st Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth."

As soon as the object of Captain Allen's visit was known to President Young and the council, they sent an

invitation to the brethren within the camp to assemble. At the meeting, President Young introduced Captain Allen to the people, who addressed them, stating the object for which he had been sent. He attributed the call to the benevolence of James K. Polk, President of the United States; said that he wanted five hundred of the Latter-day Saints, and spoke of it as though it were a favor, for there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers in the States, he said, ready to enlist if called upon. He had his orders from Colonel Kearny, and a circular which he had issued at Mount Pisgah, and explained them. Captain Allen did not inform the people—for the reason, probably, that he knew nothing about it—what the design was in case the battalion was not raised. The secret history of the transaction is, as President Young was afterwards informed on the best of authority, that Thomas H. Benton, United States senator, from the State of Missouri, got a pledge from President Polk, that if the “Mormons” did not raise the battalion of five hundred he might have the privilege of raising volunteers in the upper counties of Missouri, to fall upon them and use them up.

Captain Allen in all his dealings with the people deported himself as a gentleman and gained the good will of the leading men of the camp, as well as of all the volunteers.

The assembly was addressed, after Captain Allen had finished, by President Young. He asked the people to make a distinction between this action of the general government, in calling upon them for volunteers, and their former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. The people had

so recently suffered from mobocracy in being driven from their homes, and stripped of their possessions, and compelled to flee into the wilderness, without having any remonstrance made in their behalf by the authorities of the government, that they naturally felt it to be a hard request to make of them, while their families were in the midst of the wilderness, and homeless wanderers, to enlist as soldiers and fight with Mexico. If the plan were a benevolent one they failed to perceive where the benevolence came in. It required all the influence of President Young and his brethren to raise the battalion of men, for it seemed to present itself as another act of persecution, to call upon them to leave their families under such circumstances in the midst of an unknown country.

Elder Heber C. Kimball motioned at this meeting that a battalion of five hundred men be raised, in conformity with the requisition of the government. This was seconded by Elder Willard Richards, and carried unanimously.

After the meeting, President Young walked out as recruiting sergeant, with Willard Richards as clerk. A number of names were given as volunteers. There not being men enough in the camp at Council Bluffs to fill the requirements, a council was held, and it was voted that President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. They started on the 3rd of July, and were accompanied by Elder Willard Richards and several brethren on horseback. They met numbers of the people traveling towards the Bluffs, to whom they explained the object

of their journey, and with whom they held meetings as opportunity offered. They also met among others Elder Jesse C. Little, who had been acting as President in the New England and Middle States. He had visited Washington and had learned from President Polk of the intentions of the government to raise a battalion of men, and he had immediately started for the camp by way of Nauvoo. He had been very active in his labors in the East, and had done all in his power to create a sympathy in behalf of the people.

On the 6th, Presidents Young, Kimball and Richards reached Mount Pisgah. From this point they sent epistles to Garden Grove and to Nauvoo, informing the Saints of the move that was being made to raise a battalion of five hundred; and calling for them to send forward all the men they could spare to strengthen the camp. From Garden Grove they called for volunteers for the battalion. At Mount Pisgah they held a meeting, at which they set forth the object of their visit and the anxiety they had to raise the number of men which the government required. They remained at Pisgah until the evening of the 9th, at which time they started back for the camp at the Bluffs, which they reached on the 12th.

During their absence the work of raising volunteers had been pressed, but the necessary number had not been raised. Upon their return this business was vigorously pushed forward, strong appeals being made to those of suitable age to enlist. President Young told the people that if they wanted the privilege of going where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own

consciences, the battalion must be raised; it was right to raise it, and the blessings they were looking forward to could only be obtained by sacrifice; surrounding circumstances must be cast from their minds, they must let them go. They might as well consider themselves in good circumstances as in bad ones; he knew that every man was well supplied, for he was as well acquainted with the situation of every man in camp as he was with himself. Though there were no more men than were actually needed to take care of the families and teams, and to perform the necessary amount of travel, yet the battalion must be formed. He said: "We have lived near so many old settlers who would always say 'get out,' that we should be thankful for the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which ought to be the case, we would be the old settlers and could say 'get out.' Suppose we refuse to raise a battalion, what will we do? We told you some time ago we would fit you out for the purpose, and now we are ready to do so with Captain Allen as agent for the United States to help us." At this meeting it was voted unanimously that President Young and the council nominate the officers for the several companies.

On the 14th, volunteers from Mount Pisgah arrived. The battalion was called, and strict instructions were given it as to how its members should behave on their expedition. President Young wished them to prove the best soldiers in the United States service. He instructed the captains to be fathers

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On the 15th, Presidents Young, Kimball and Higbee reached Mount Pisgah. From this point they sent appeals to Garden Grove and to Navajo, informing the Saints of the move that was being made to raise a battalion of five hundred; and calling for them to send forward all the men they could spare to strengthen the camp. From Garden Grove they called for volunteers for the battalion. At Mount Pisgah they held a meeting, at which they set forth the object of their visit and the anxiety they had to raise the number of men which the government required. They remained at Pisgah until the evening of the 25th, at which time they started back for the camp at the Bluffs, which they reached on the 13th.

During their absence the work of raising volunteers had been pressed, but the necessary number had not been raised. Upon their return this business was vigorously pushed forward, strong appeals being made to those of suitable age to enlist. President Young told the people that if they wanted the privilege of going where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own

to their companies, and to manage their offices by the power and influence of the Priesthood, then they would have power to preserve their lives and the lives of their companies and to escape difficulties. Said he, "a private soldier is as honorable as an officer if he behaves as well; no one is distinguished as being better flesh and blood than another." They should keep neat and clean; teach chastity, gentility and civility, and swearing must not be allowed. They were to insult no man; have no contentious conversation with Missourians, Mexicans, or any class of people; were not to preach only where people desired to hear, and then wise men were to do the preaching. They were not to impose their principles upon any people; were to take their Bibles and Books of Mormon, and if they had any playing cards they were to burn them. The officers were to regulate dances, but they were not to dance with the world. They were not to trespass on the rights of others, and if they should engage with the enemy and be successful, they were to treat prisoners with the greatest civility and never to take life if it could be avoided. President Young told the brethren of the Battalion that they would have no fighting to do. He said that the Battalion would probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where the Church would locate. He suggested that the members tarry there and go to work; "but," said he, "the next Temple will be built in the Rocky Mountains; in the Great Basin is the place to build Temples, and it shall be the stronghold of the Saints against mobs."

It was somewhat difficult to raise

men of the necessary age—between 18 and 45—to complete the five hundred, but by strenuous exertions they were at last enlisted and on July 16, 1846, four companies of over four hundred men all told, and part of the fifth, were mustered into service at Council Bluffs. The pay and rations of the men dated from this day. A few days later the fifth company was filled. Following are the names of officers and men, also families, which accompanied the command—so far as obtained by Daniel Tyler, author of "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion:"

COMPANY A.

Officers.

Jefferson Hunt, captain.
Geo. W. Oman, 1st lieutenant.
Lorenzo Clark, 2nd lieutenant.
Wm. W. Willis, 3rd lieutenant.
James Ferguson, sergeant major.
Phineas R. Wright, 1st sergeant.
Ebenezer Brown, 2nd sergeant.
Reddick N. Allred, 3rd sergeant.
Alexander McCord, 4th sergeant.
Gilbert Hunt, 1st corporal.
Lafayette N. Frost, 2nd corporal.
Thomas Weir, 3rd corporal.
Wm. S. Muir, 4th corporal.
Elisha Everett, musician.
Joseph W. Richards, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, Rufus C.	22 Casper, Wm. W.
2 Allred, James R.	23 Calkins, James
3 Allred, James T. S.	24 Calkins, Sylvanus
4 Allred, Reuben W.	25 Calkins, Edwin R.
5 Allen, Alber	26 Coleman, Geo.
6 Brown, John	27 Clark, Joseph
7 Butterfield, J. K.	28 Clark, Riley G.
8 Bailey, James	29 Decker, Zech. B.
9 Brunson, Clinton D.	30 Dobson, Joseph
10 Brass, Benjamin	31 Dodson, Eli
11 Blanchard, M. S.	32 Earl, James C.
12 Beckstead, G. S.	33 Egbert, Robert C.
13 Beckstead, Orin M.	34 Fairbanks, Henry
14 Bickmore, Gilbert	35 Frederick, David
15 Brown, Wm. W.	36 Glines, James
16 Bevan, James	37 Garner, David
17 Briant, John S.	38 Gordon, Gilman
18 Curtis, Josiah	39 Goodwin, Andrew
19 Cox, Henderson	40 Hulett, Schuyler
20 Chase, Hiram B.	41 Holden, Elijah E.
21 Calkins, Alva C.	42 Hampton, James

43 Hawkins, Benj. 67 Steele, Geo. E.
 44 Hickenlooper W. F. 68 Steele, Isaiah C.
 45 Hunt, Martial 69 Sessions, Richard
 46 Hewett, Eli B. 70 Shepherd, L.
 47 Hudson, Wilford 71 Swartout, Hamilton
 48 Hoyt, Timothy S. 72 Sexton, George
 49 Hoyt, Henry P. 73 Sessions, John
 50 Ivie, Richard A. 74 Sessions, Wm. B.
 51 Jackson, Chas. A. 75 Taylor, Joseph
 52 Johnson, Henry 76 Thompson, John
 53 Kelley, Wm. 77 Vrandenburg, A.
 54 Kelley, Nicholas 78 Weaver, Miles
 55 Kibley, James 79 Wriston, John P.
 56 Lemon, James W. 80 Wriston, Isaac N.
 57 Lake, Barnabas 81 Weaver, Franklin
 58 Moss, David 82 Wilson, Alfred G.
 59 Maxwell, Maxie 83 Wheeler, Merrill W.
 60 Mayfield, Benj. F. 84 White, Samuel S.
 61 Nalle, Conrad 85 Webb, Chas. Y.
 62 Oyler, Melcher 86 Winn, Dennis
 63 Packard, Henry 87 Woodworth, L.
 64 Persons, Ebenezer 88 White, Joseph
 65 Roe, Cariatat C. 89 Willey, Jeremiah
 66 Rittter, John

COMPANY B.

Officers.

Jesse D. Hunter, captain.
 Elam Luddington, 1st lieutenant.
 Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.
 Philemon C. Merrill, 3d lieutenant.
 Wm. Coray, 1st orderly sergeant.
 Wm. Hyde, 2nd orderly sergeant.
 Albert Smith, 3rd orderly sergeant.
 David P. Rainey, 1st corporal.
 Thomas Dunn, 2nd corporal.
 John D. Chase, 3rd corporal.
 Wm. Hunter, musician.
 Geo. W. Taggart, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, George 21 Church, Haden W.
 2 Allen, Elijah 22 Camp, J. G.
 3 Alexander, H. M. 23 Carter, P. J.
 4 Allen, Franklin 24 Curtis, Dorr P.
 5 Bush, Richard 25 Carter, R.
 6 Bird, Wm. 26 Dayton, Wm. J.
 7 Bingham, Thos. 27 Dutcher, Thos. P.
 8 Bingham, Erastus 28 Dalton, Henry S.
 9 Billings, Orson 29 Dunham, Albert
 10 Bigler, Henry W. 30 Evans, Israel
 11 Boley, Samuel 31 Evans, Wm.
 12 Borrowman, John 32 Eastman, M. N.
 13 Brackenberry, B. B. 33 Freeman, Elijah N.
 14 Brown, Francis 34 Follett, Wm. A.
 15 Bliss, Robert S. 35 Fife, Peter
 16 Bybee, John 36 Green, Ephraim
 17 Clark, Geo. S. 37 Garner, Wm. A.
 18 Colton, Philander 38 Garner, Phillip
 19 Cheney, Zacheus 39 Hawk, Nathan
 20 Callahan, Thos. W. 40 Huntsman, Isalah

41 Hoffheins, Jacob 66 Park, James, 1st
 42 Hanks, Ephraim R. 67 Park, James, 2nd
 43 Hawk, Wm. 68 Richards, Peter F.
 44 Hinckley, Arza E. 69 Rogers, Samuel H.
 45 Hunter, Edward 70 Study, David
 46 Haskell, Geo., 71 Smith, Azariah
 47 Harris, Silas 72 Stevens, Lyman
 48 Jones, David H., 73 Stoddard, Rufus
 49 Keyser, Guy M., 74 Simmons, Wm. A.
 50 King, John M., 75 Sly, James C.
 51 Kirk, Thos. 76 Steers, Andrew J.
 52 Lawson, John 77 Stillman, Dexter
 53 Morris, Thos. 78 Workman, A. J.
 54 McCarty, Nelson 79 Walker, Wm.
 55 Mount, Hiram B., 80 Willis, Ira
 56 Martin, Jesse B. 81 Workman, O. G.
 57 Murdock, John R. 82 Willis, W. S. S.
 58 Murdock, Price 83 Watts, John
 59 Myers, Samuel 84 Whitney, F. T.
 60 Miles, Samuel 85 Wright, Chas.
 61 Noler, Christian 86 Wilcox, Edward
 62 Owens, Robert 87 Wilcox, Henry
 63 Pearson, Ephraim 88 Wheeler, John L.
 64 Persons, Harmon D. 89 Winters, Jacob
 65 Prouse, Wm. 90 Zabriskie, Jerome

COMPANY C.

Officers.

James Brown, captain.
 Geo. W. Rosecrans, 1st lieutenant.
 Samuel Thompson, 2nd lieutenant.
 Robert Clift (promoted from orderly sergeant to 3rd lieutenant).
 Orson B. Adams, 1st sergeant.
 Elijah Elmer, 2nd sergeant.
 Joel J. Terrill, 3rd sergeant.
 David Wilkin, 4th sergeant.
 Jabez Nowlin, 1st corporal.
 Alexander Brown, 2nd corporal.
 Edward Martin, 3rd corporal.
 Daniel Tyler, 4th corporal.
 Richard D. Sprague, musician.
 Russell G. Brownell, musician.

Privates.

1 Adair, Wesley 18 Calvert, John
 2 Boyle, Henry G. 19 Catlin, Geo. W.
 3 Burt, Wm. 20 Donald, Neal
 4 Barney, Walter 21 Dunn, James
 5 Babcock, Lorenzo 22 Dalton, Harry
 6 Brown, Jesse J. 23 Dalton, Edward
 7 Bailey, Addison 24 Durphy, Francillo
 8 Bailey, Jefferson 25 Dodge, Aug. E.
 9 Beckstead, Wm. E. 26 Forbush, Lorin
 10 Brimhall, John 27 Fellows, Hiram W.
 11 Blackburn, Abner 28 Fife, John
 12 Bybee, Henry G. 29 Fifield, Levi
 13 Clift, James 30 Gould, John C.
 14 Covil, John Q. A. 31 Gould, Samuel
 15 Condit, Jephtha 32 Gibson, Thomas
 16 Carpenter, Isaac 33 Green, John
 17 Carpenter, Wm. H. 34 Hatch, Meltllah

35 Hatch, Orin 62 Peck, Thorit
 36 Holt, Wm. 63 Peck, Isaac
 37 Harmon, Ebenezer 64 Pulsipher, David
 38 Harmon, Loren- 65 Persons, Judson A.
 zo F. 66 Richie, Benj.
 39 Holdaway, Shad- 67 Rust, Wm. W.
 rach 68 Richmond, Benj.
 40 Hendrickson, Jas. 69 Reynolds, Wm.
 41 Hancock, Chas. 70 Riser, John J.
 42 Hancock, Geo. W. 71 Smith, Milton
 43 Ivie, Thos. C. 72 Smith, Richard
 44 Johnston, Wm. J. 73 Shupe, James
 45 Johnston, Jesse W. 74 Shupe, Andrew J.
 46 Johnson, Jarvis 75 Shipley, Joseph
 47 Layton, Christo- 76 Squires, Wm.
 pher 77 Shumway, Aurora
 48 Larson, Thurston 78 Thompson, J. L.
 49 Landers, Ebenezer 79 Thomas, Nathan T.
 50 Lewis, Samuel 80 Thomas, Elijah
 51 Myler, James 81 Tuttle, Elanson
 52 McCullough, L. H. 82 Truman, Jacob M.
 53 Morey, Harley 83 Tindell, Solomon
 54 Maggard, Benj. 84 Wade, Edward W.
 55 Mowrey, John T. 85 Wade, Moses
 56 Mead, Orlando F. 86 Wood, Wm.
 57 More, Calvin W. 87 White, John J.
 58 Olmstead, Hiram 88 Wilcox, Matthew
 59 Perkins, David 89 Welsh, Madison
 60 Perkins, John 90 Wheeler, Henry
 61 Pickup, Geo.

COMPANY D.

Officers.

Nelson Higgins, captain.
 Geo. P. Dykes, 1st lieutenant.
 Sylvester Hulett, 2nd lieutenant.
 Cyrus C. Canfield, 3rd lieutenant.
 Nathaniel V. Jones, 1st sergeant.
 Thomas Williams, 2nd sergeant.
 Luther T. Tuttle, 3rd sergeant.
 Alpheus P. Haws, 4th sergeant.
 Arnold Stephens, 1st corporal.
 John Buchanan, 2nd corporal.
 Wm. Coon, 3rd corporal.
 Lewis Lane, 4th corporal.
 Willard Smith, musician.
 Henry W. Jackson, musician.

Privates.

1 Abbott, Joshua 12 Compton, Allen
 2 Averett, Jeduthan 13 Cole, James B.
 3 Brown, James, 1st 14 Casto, Wm.
 4 Brown, James S. 15 Casto, James
 5 Bingham, Erastus 16 Curtis, Foster
 6 Badlam, Samuel 17 Clawson, John R.
 7 Button, Montgom- 18 Cox, Amos
 ery 19 Collings, Robt. H.
 8 Brizzee, Henry W. 20 Chase, Abner
 9 Boyd, Geo. W. 21 Davis, Sterling
 10 Boyd, Wm. 22 Davis, Eleazer
 11 Barger, Wm. W. 23 Davis, James

24 Douglass, Ralph 57 Rollins, John
 25 Douglass, James 58 Rawson, Daniel B.
 26 Fletcher, Philander 59 Roberts, Benj.
 27 Frazier, Thos. 60 Runyan, Levi
 28 Fatoute, Ezra 61 Rowe, Wm.
 29 Forsgreen, John E. 62 Richmond, Wm.
 30 Finlay, Thos. 63 Robinson, Wm.
 31 Gilbert, John 64 Raymond, A. P.
 32 Gifford, Wm. W. 65 Smith, John G.
 33 Gribble, Wm. 66 Stephens, Alex.
 34 Hoagland, Lucas 67 Spencer, Wm. W.
 35 Henry, Daniel 68 Stewart, Benj.
 36 Hirons, James 69 Stewart, James
 37 Huntington, Dim- 70 Stewart, Robt. B.
 ick B. 71 Sargent, Abel M.
 38 Hendricks, Wm. D. 72 Savage, Levi
 39 Holmes, Jonathan 73 Stillman, Clark
 40 Higgins, Alfred 74 Swarthout, Nathan
 41 Hunsaker, Abra- 75 Sharp, Albert
 ham 76 Sharp, Norman
 42 Hayward, Thos. 77 Shelton, Sebert C.
 43 Jacobs, Sanford 78 Sanderson, H. W.
 44 Kenney, Loren E. 79 Steele John,
 45 Lamb, Lisbon 80 Thompson, Henry
 46 Laughlin, David S. 81 Thompson, Miles
 47 Maxwell, Wm. 82 Tanner, Myron
 48 Meeseck, Peter J. 83 Twitchel, Anciel
 49 Mecham, E. D. 84 Tubbs, Wm. R.
 50 Merrill, Ferdinand 85 Treat, Thomas
 51 McArthur, Henry 86 Tippetts, John H.
 52 Oakley, James 87 Walker, Edwin
 53 Owen, James 88 Woodward, Fran-
 cis
 54 Peck, Edwin M. 89 Whiting, Almon
 55 Perrin, Chas. 90 Whiting, Edmund
 56 Pettegrew, Jas. P.

COMPANY E.

Officers:

Daniel C. Davis, captain.
 James Pace, 1st lieutenant.
 Andrew Lytle, 2nd lieutenant.
 Samuel L. Gully, 3rd lieutenant.
 Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.
 Richard Brazier, 2nd sergeant.
 Ebenezer Hanks, 3rd sergeant.
 Daniel Browett, 4th sergeant.
 James A. Scott, corporal.
 Levi W. Hancock, musician.
 Jesse Earl, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, John 10 Campbell, Jona-
 2 Allen, Geo. than
 3 Binley, John Wes- 11 Cazier, James
 ley 12 Cazier, John
 4 Beers, Wm. 13 Clark, Samuel
 5 Brown, Daniel 14 Clark, Albert
 6 Bulkley, Newman 15 Chapin, Samuel
 7 Bunker, Edward 16 Cox, John
 8 Caldwell, Matthew 17 Cummings, Geo.
 9 Campbell, Samuel 18 Day, Abraham

19 Dyke, Simon	51 Park, Wm. A.
20 Dennett, Daniel Q.	52 Pettegrew, David
21 Earl, Jacob	53 Pixton, Robert
22 Ewell, Wm.	54 Phelps, Alva
23 Ewell, Martin F.	55 Porter, Sanford
24 Earl, Justice C.	55 Pugmire, Jonathan, jun.
25 Findlay, John	
26 Follett, Wm. T.	57 Rollins —
27 Glazier, Luther W.	58 Richardson, Thos.
28 Harmon, Oliver N.	59 Richards, L.
29 Harris, Robert	60 Roberts, L.
30 Harrison, Isaac	61 Sanders, Richard T.
31 Hart, James S.	62 Scott, Leonard M.
32 Harrison, Israel	63 Scott, James R.
33 Hess, John W.	64 Skein, Joseph
34 Hickmott, John	65 Spidle, John
35 Hopkins, Chas.	66 Slater, Richard
36 Hoskins, Henry	67 Snyder, John
37 Howell, T. C. D.	68 Smith, Lot
38 Howell, Wm.	69 Smith, David
39 Jacobs, Bailey	70 Smith, Elisha
40 Judd, Hiram	71 Smith, John
41 Judd, Zadock K.	72 St. John, Stephen M.
42 Jimmerson, Chas.	73 Stevens, Roswe
43 Knapp, Albert	74 Standage, Henry
44 Kelley, Geo.	75 Strong, Wm.
45 Karren, Thos.	76 Tanner, Albert
46 Lance, Wm.	77 West, Benj.
47 McLelland, Wm. E.	78 Wilson, Geo.
48 Miller, Daniel M.	79 Woolsey, Thos.
49 McBride, Haslem	80 Williams, James V.
50 Miller, Miles	81 Whitworth, Wm.

The following names of young men and boys, who served as servants to officers in the Mormon Battalion, were sent in to Daniel Tyler for publication in his history of the Battalion. He says they were mostly too young to be received as soldiers, but that they are entitled to much praise for their youthful patriotism and bravery. There were probably others whose names were not given:

Zemira Palmer, servant to Col. James Allen until his death; to Dr. George B. Sanderson from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, thence to Lieut. Lorenzo Clark until the corps was discharged.

Wm. Byron Pace, servant to Lieut. James Pace.

Wm. D. Pace, servant to Lieut. Andrew Lytle.

N. D. Higgins, servant to Captain Nelson Higgins.

Chas. Edwin Colton, servant to Adjutant P. C. Merrill.

James Mowrey, servant to Lieuts. George

W. Rosecrans, Samuel Thompson and Robt. Clift.

Elisha Smith, servant to Captain Daniel C. Davis.

Following is a list of families who accompanied the Battalion:

Mrs. Celia Hunt, wife of senior Captain Jefferson Hunt; sons: Hyrum, John, Joseph, Parley; daughters: Jane, Harriet, Mary; second wife, Matilda; in the family, Peter Nease, Ellen Nease, John Bosco and wife, Jane.

Mrs. Lydia Hunter, wife of Captain Jesse D. Hunter, of Company B, died at San Diego, left an infant and perhaps other children.

Mrs. Mary Brown, wife of Captain James Brown, of Company C.; son: David Black, and some children by first wife.

Mrs. Captain Nelson Higgins, of Company D; sons: Alpheus, Don Carlos; daughters: Druzilla, Almira (married John Chase at Pueblo), and one child born at Pueblo.

Mrs. Susan Davis, wife of Captain Daniel C. Davis, of Company E; son: Daniel C. Davis, jun.

Mrs. Fanny Maria Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington; sons: Clark Allen, Lot; daughters: Martha, Zina, Betsy Pre-scinda (born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Malinda Kelley, wife of Milton Kelley; daughter: Malinda Catherine (born at Pueblo, now wife of Benj. L. Alexander).

Mrs. Elizabeth Shelton, wife of Sergeant Sebert C. Shelton; sons: Jackson Mayfield, John Mayfield; daughters: Sarah Mayfield, Caroline Shelton, Maria Shelton.

Mrs. Eunice Brown, wife of James P. Brown; sons: Robert, Newman, John (born while traveling between Pueblo and Salt Lake Valley); daughters: Sarah Jane and Mary Ann.

Mrs. Norman Sharp; daughter, born at Pueblo.

Miss Caroline Sargent.

Mrs. Montgomery Button; sons: James, Jutson, Charles; daughter: Louisa.

Mrs. Albina Williams, wife of Thomas S. Williams; son: Ephraim; daughters: Caroline, Phebe (the latter born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Jane Hanks, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Hanks.

Mrs. Phebe Brown, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Brown.

Mrs. Sophia Tubbs, wife of William Tubbs.

Mrs. Catherine Steele, wife of John Steele; daughter: Mary; also young Elizabeth (born twelve days after arriving in Salt Lake Valley).

Mrs. Susan Adams, wife of Sergeant Orson B. Adams.

Mrs. Mary Ann Hiron, wife of James Hiron.

Mrs. Emeline Hess, wife of John Hess.

Mrs. Rebecca Smith, wife of Elisha Smith.

Mrs. Isabella Wilkin, wife of David Wilkin.

Mrs. Eliza Allred, wife of J. T. S. Allred.

Mrs. Elzada Allred, wife of Reuben Allred.

Mrs. Sarah Shupe, wife of Andrew Jackson Shupe.

Mrs. Melissa Coray, wife of Sergeant Coray.

Mrs. Ruth Abbott.

Mrs. Harriet Brown, wife of Daniel Brown.

Mrs. Sarah Kelley, wife of Nicholas Kelley; son: Parley.

Mrs. Agnes Brown, wife of Sergeant Edward L. Brown.

Mrs. Caroline Sessions, wife of John Sessions.

There may have been a few others, not reported, as all were collected from memory.

July 20, 1846, the four companies first organized took up their line of march for Fort Leavenworth. Previous to starting the men of each company subscribed liberally of their wages to be sent back for the support of their families and to aid in gathering the poor from Nauvoo. That day they traveled about four miles; and continuing the journey they arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the 1st of August, having been joined by the 5th company on the road. They had also buried one of their comrades, Samuel Boley, who died on July 23rd.

At Leavenworth the men drew their arms, which consisted of U. S. flint-lock muskets, with a few caplock yaugers for sharpshooting and hunting purposes. The usual accoutrements were also drawn, as well as camp equipage and provisions, the want of which had been seriously felt on the way from Council Bluffs.

On the 5th the soldiers drew \$42 each, as clothing money for the year.

Most of the money was sent back by Elder Parley P. Pratt and others for the support of the families of the soldiers, and for the gathering of the poor from Nauvoo. There was also a donation to aid Elders Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde and John Taylor, of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, in pursuing their mission to England, and to assist Elder J. C. Little to go upon his mission to the Eastern States. The paymaster was much surprised to see every man able to sign his own name to the pay roll, as only about one in three of the Missouri volunteers, who drew their pay previously, could put his signature to that document.

The members of the Mormon Battalion, too, were not only more intelligent than their fellows, but they were more submissive and obedient to their commanding officers. Colonel Allen was heard to say, in conversation with a prominent officer of the garrison, that he "had not been under the necessity of giving the word of command the second time. The men, though unacquainted with military tactics, were willing to obey orders."

Aug. 8th, Elders Orson Hyde, John Taylor and J. C. Little took leave of the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and proceeded on their missions.

The first Sunday spent by the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth was observed by holding religious service. Elder George P. Dykes preached a kind of military and Gospel sermon, which was his usual style on such occasions.

The weather at this time was extremely warm, the thermometer indicating 101° in the shade and 135° in the sun. Some of those who had

taken sick on the road were much improved, but a number of new cases of sickness from ague and fever were developed while in garrison.

On the 12th and 13th of August three companies of the Battalion took up their line of march from Fort Leavenworth, and on the 14th the other two companies started. On the 15th the advance companies crossed Kaw River in flat boats. At Spring Creek Companies D and E caught up with the other companies, after which the whole command continued the march toward Santa Fe.

On the 23rd Captain Allen, the commander of the Battalion, died at Fort Leavenworth. His demise was a source of much regret to the brethren, who had become much attached to him, he being a kind hearted officer and a gentleman. The command now devolved upon Capt. Jefferson Hunt, as the ranking officer; but notwithstanding this Lieutenant A. J. Smith shortly afterward assumed command, contrary to the wishes of most of the brethren.

Sept. 11, 1846, the Battalion reached the Arkansas River, and then followed that stream for about one hundred miles. On Sept. 16th, Captain Higgins, with a guard of ten men, was detailed to take a number of the families, that accompanied the Battalion, to Pueblo, a Mexican town located further up the Arkansas River, to winter. Many of the brethren were dissatisfied with this move, as they objected to being divided, but under the circumstances they had to submit, and Captain Higgins marched with his detachment to Pueblo. According to the best information obtainable at the

present time the names of the soldiers, who marched to Pueblo, in care of Captain Higgins were as follows:

Gilbert Hunt,	Norman Sharp,
Dimick B. Huntington,	James Brown,
Montgomery Button,	Harley Morey,
John H. Tippetts,	Thomas Woolsey,
Milton Kelley,	S. C. Shelton.
Nicholas Kelley,	

These men, together with the families, left the main command at the last crossing of the Arkansas River, Sept. 16, 1846, and arrived in due course of time at Pueblo. On the journey thither Norman Sharp died.

While *en route* from the Arkansas River to Santa Fe, the brethren in the main company of the Battalion suffered great hardships; they were reduced to two-thirds rations and through drinking brackish water many were attacked with summer complaint. Some of the feeble ones also suffered severely from cold and rain while on guard at night, as they preferred to bear their portion of camp duties as long as they possibly could do so, rather than make their condition known and have to take the drugs and abuse of Doctor Geo. P. Sanderson (of Platte County, Mo), the regular appointed surgeon of the Battalion, who proscribed medicine that poisoned the brethren and caused them extreme suffering.

On the 2nd of October Red River was reached, and on the following day the command was divided into two divisions, the strongest and most able-bodied men pushing ahead to Santa Fe, where they arrived Oct. 9th. The second division reached that city on the 12th.

Immediately after the arrival of the Battalion at Santa Fe, Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke, who was there awaiting their arrival, as-

sumed command, having been appointed to do so by Colonel S. F. Kearney, who had left Santa Fe for California some time previous. Oct. 15, 1846, Colonel Cooke instructed Captain James Brown to take command of the men who were reported by the assistant surgeon as incapable from sickness and debility of undertaking the journey to California, and march with them to the Arkansas River, there to winter. Nearly all the laundresses accompanying the Battalion were ordered to accompany the sick detachment to Pueblo, as it was feared they would be an incumbrance to the expedition on the further march to California. The following is a list of the officers and men who marched with Captain Brown to Pueblo to winter;

COMPANY A.

Allred, James T. S.	Jackson, Chas. A.
Allred, Reuben	Lake, Barnabas
Blanchard, Marvin S.	Oyler, Melcher
Calkins, James W.	Roe, Carlatat C.
Garner, David	Richards, Jos. W.,
Glines, James H.	musician,
Hulett, Schuyler	Sessions, John
Holden, Elijah E.	Wriston, John P.

COMPANY B.

Allen, Franklin	Persons, Harmon D.
Bingham, Erastus	Stevens, Lyman
Bird, Wm.	Stillman, Dexter
Chase, John D., cor- poral,	Walker, Wm.
Garner Philip	Wright, Chas.
Ludington, Elam, 1st lieutenant,	

COMPANY C.

Adams, Orson B., 1st sergeant,	Larson, Thurston
Brown, Alexander, 2nd corporal,	Nowlin, Jabez
Brown, Jesse J.	Perkins, David
Beckstead, Wm. E.	Perkins, John
Carpenter, Wm. H.	Persons, Judson A.
Carpenter, Isaac	Smith, Richard
Calvert, John	Smith, Milton
Durphy, Francillo	Shupe, Andrew J.
Gould, Samuel	Shupe, James
Gould, John C.	Terrill, Joel J.
Johnson, Jarvis	Tindell, Solomon
	Wilkin, David

COMPANY D.

Abbott, Joshua	Roberts, Benjamin
Averett, Jeduthan	Rowe, Wm.
Casto, Wm.	Steele, John
Chase, Abner	Stephens, Arnold,
Davis, James	1st corporal,
Douglass, Ralph	Sargent, Abel M.
Gifford, Wm. W.	Sanderson, Henry W.
Gribble, Wm.	Sharp, Albert
Hirons, James	Stillman, Clark
Kenney, Lorin E.	Smith, John G.
Lamb, Lisbon	Tanner, Myron
Laughlin, David S.	Whiting, Almon
Meeseck, Peter J.	Whiting, Edmund
Oakley, James	

COMPANY E.

Clark, Samuel	Jacobs, Bailey
Cummings, Geo.	Karren, Thos.
Glazier, Luther W.	Miller, Daniel M.
Hanks, Ebenezer,	Park, Wm. A.
3rd sergeant,	Pugmire, Jonathan, jr.
Hess, John W.	Stevens, Roswell
Hopkins, Chas.	

Captain Brown marched from Santa Fe Oct. 18, 1846, and arrived at Pueblo Nov. 17th following. A place for building winter quarters was selected near the quarters of Captain Higgins' detachment which had arrived at Pueblo some time previous. A company of Saints from Mississippi who had stopped there to winter were encamped near by. "The greeting which occurred between comrades and old friends, husbands and wives, parents and children, when the two detachments met, was quite touching. A thrill of joy ran through the camp which none but those living martyrs can fully comprehend."

It was immediately agreed that 18 rooms, each 14 feet square, should be erected for the winter quarters, and the men who were able to chop were dispatched to the woods to procure timbers for the houses, with the understanding that the first rooms finished should be allotted to the sick. The work of erecting the houses was pushed with all possible rapidity, but before they were finished suffi-

ciently to shelter the sick from the piercing winds and cold mountain storms, some had already succumbed. Among the number was Joseph Wm. Richards, a very estimable young man, who died Nov. 21, 1846.

Oct. 19, 1846, John D. Lee and Howard Egan started from Santa Fe with the checks of the brethren, for Council Bluffs, being accompanied by Lieutenant Samuel L. Guley and Roswell Stevens. On the same day the command broke camp at Santa Fe and started on the long journey of 1,100 miles across a trackless desert to the Pacific Ocean. After leaving Santa Fe many of the soldiers contracted severe colds, from which they suffered severely. On the 2nd of November a number of teams gave out, and several wagons were sent back to Santa Fe empty. During the month of November the soldiers also suffered severely from scarcity of food.

Nov. 10, 1846, Lieutenant W. W. Willis was ordered to return to Santa Fe with all the sick—fifty-six men—and they accordingly started back with one wagon, 4 yoke of poor oxen and rations sufficient to last the men only five days, to go a journey of 300 miles. The parting of these men with their comrades was very affecting. They had become endeared to each other by the ties of the Gospel and the association of the journey, and the chances were strong against their ever meeting again.

Lieutenant W. W. Willis, writing from memory of the incidents of this sick detachment, says:

"Our loading for the one wagon consisted of the clothing, blankets, cooking utensils, tents and tent poles, muskets, equipage and provisions, and all invalids who were unable to walk. With some difficulty I obtained

a spade or two and a shovel, but was provided with no medicines or other necessities for the sick except the mutton before referred to, and only five days' rations, to travel near three hundred miles.

"Thus armed and equipped, we commenced our lonesome march, retracing our steps to Santa Fe. We marched the same day about two miles and were visited by Captain Hunt and others at night, who spoke words of comfort to us, and blessed us, administering the Church ordinance to the sick, and bidding us God speed. They left us the next day.

"We resumed our march, camping in the evening near some springs. One yoke of our oxen got mired in the mud. We took off the yoke when one got out. The other we undertook to pull out with a rope and unfortunately broke his neck. Our team was now too weak for our load. In the night Brother John Green died, and we buried him by the side of Brother James Hampton.

"What to do for a team we did not know. This was a dark time, and many were the earnest petitions that went up to our God and Father for Divine aid.

"The next morning we found with our oxen a pair of splendid young steers, which was really cheering to us. We looked upon it as one of the providences of our Father in heaven. Thus provided for, we pursued our march. We traveled two days without further accident.

"During the night of the 25th of November Elijah Freeman was taken very ill. We hauled him next day in our wagon and could distinctly hear his groans to the head of our little column. We lay by next day for his benefit. It was very cold and snowy. Next day we resumed our march, but were forced to stop the wagon for our afflicted comrade to die. After his death we resumed our march until the usual time of camping, when we buried the corpse. Richard Carter also died the same night and we buried him by the side of Brother Freeman. Their graves are four miles south of Secora, on the Rio Grande.

"We continued our march to Albuquerque, where we presented our orders for assistance to Captain Burgwin, of Kearney's brigade. He gave me \$5 cash, and the privilege of exchanging our heavy wagon for a lighter one. I had fuel and everything to buy, and spent \$66.00 of my own private money before reaching Santa Fe, which was, as near as I can recollect, about the 25th of November.

"On my arrival at that place, General

Price, commander of the post, ordered me to Pueblo, on the Arkansas River. He also ordered Quarter-master McKissock to furnish us with the necessary provisions, mules, etc. I obtained from the quarter-master ten mules and pack-saddles, ropes and other fixtures necessary for packing. With this outfit we had to perform a journey of about three hundred miles, over the mountains, and in the winter.

"Packing was new business to us, and at first we were quite awkward. This was about the 5th of December. The first day we marched about ten miles. Here we gave Brother Brazier, who was too sick to travel, a mule, and left Thomas Burns to wait upon him and follow, when he got able, to a Mr. Turley's, where I designed leaving those who were unable to cross the mountains.

"The next day we traveled about twenty miles and camped on a beautiful stream of water where we had to leave one broken-down mule. The day after, we marched about fifteen miles, and camped in a Spanish town. Here Alva Calkins, at his own request, remained to await the arrival of Brothers Brazier and Burns. About ten inches of snow fell that day, and the next day it snowed until about noon, after which we marched ten or twelve miles and hired quarters of a Spaniard. Here the men bought bread, onions, pork, etc., from their own private means. Brother George Coleman was seized with an unnatural appetite, and ate to excess. In the night we were all awakened by his groans. Dr. Rust gave him a little tincture of lobelia, the only medicine in camp, which gave him partial relief.

"Continuing our journey, we traveled within about ten miles of Turley's, Brother Coleman riding on a mule with the aid of two men to help him on and off. The next morning we started early for Mr. Turley's to make arrangements for the sick. I left my saddle mule for the sick man, with strict instructions to have him brought to that place. On my arrival I made the necessary arrangements, and about noon the company arrived, but to my surprise and regret without Brother Coleman. They said he refused to come. Mr. Turley, on hearing me express my regret and dissatisfaction at his being left, proffered to send his team and carriage to go back next day and bring him in, which offer I accepted, and agreed to pay him for his trouble. I left quite a number of sick with Mr. Turley, paying him out of my own private funds for their rations and quarters, and then traveled about ten miles.

At night, strong fears were entertained that the snow was so deep we could not cross the mountains and some resolved not to attempt it, accusing me of rashness. I called the company together and stated the fact to them that I was unauthorized to draw rations except for the journey and other necessities unless for the sick, and that I was expending my own private money. I also stated that I should carry out my instructions and march to Pueblo to winter, if I had to go alone. I then called for a show of right hands of all who would accompany me. All voted but one, and he fell in afterwards and begged pardon for his opposition.

"We continued our march from day to day, traveling through snow from two to four feet deep, with continued cold, piercing wind. The third day, about noon, we reached the summit of the mountain. Before reaching the top, however, I had to detail a rear guard of the most able-bodied men, to aid and encourage those who began to lag, and felt unable to proceed further, whilst with others I marched at the head of the column to break the road through enormous snow banks. It was with the greatest exertion that we succeeded, and some were severely frost-bitten. When we got through the banks, to our inexpressible joy, we saw the valley of the Arkansas below, where the ground was bare. The drooping spirits of the men revived, and they soon descended to the plain below, where they were comparatively comfortable. From here the command had good weather and pleasant traveling to Pueblo, their destination for the remainder of the winter.

"We arrived on the 24th of December, and found the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins as well as could be expected, and enjoying themselves with some comfortable quarters."

Lieutenant Willis got Gilbert Hunt, son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, who had accompanied the families to Pueblo, to go back to Mr. Turley's and bring up the sick he had left there. They started on the 27th, and the same day the lieutenant started for Bent's Fort, a distance of 75 miles. He arrived on the 2nd and was very kindly received by Captain Enos, commander of the post and acting quartermaster, who

furnished sixty days rations for the company and transportation to Pueblo with ox teams. On Lieutenant Willis' return, the detachment went to work, preparing their quarters, each mess to build a log cabin.

About the middle of January, 1847, Gilbert Hunt and company returned with all the sick except Geo. Coleman. Mr. Turley forwarded the lieutenant a letter by Corporal Hunt, to the effect that he sent his carriage as agreed upon, but on arriving at the place where Brother Coleman was left, he was not there. The Spaniard reported that after the company had left, in spite of entreaties to the contrary, Brother Coleman followed on after the company, and it was supposed, after traveling a short distance, he expired, as he was afterwards found dead by the road-side not far distant.

The following is a list of Lieutenant Willis' sick detachment:

COMPANY A.

Bevan, James	Hewett, Eli B.
Calkins, Alva C.	Maxwell, Maxie
Curtis, Josiah	Wriston, Isaac N.
Earl, James C.	Woodworth, Lysander
Frederick, David	

COMPANY B.

Bybee, John	Clark, Geo. S.
Bingham, Thos.	Eastman, Marcus N.
Camp, James G.	Hinckley, Arza E.
Church, Haden W.	

COMPANY C.

Blackburn, Abner	Rust, Wm. W.
Brimhall, John	Richmond, Benj.
Babcock, Lorenzo	Shipley, Joseph
Burt, Wm.	Squires, Wm., corporal,
Dalton, Edward	Thomas, Nathan T.
Dalton, Harry	Welsh, Madison.
Dunn, James	
Johnston, Jesse W.	

COMPANY D.

Badlam, Samuel	Mecham, Erastus D.
Compton, Allen	Stewart, James
Higgus, Alfred	Stewart, Benjamin
Hoagland, Lucas	Tubbs, Wm. R.
Hayward, Thomas	Tippetts, John H.

COMPANY E.

Brazier, Richard, sergeant,	McLelland, Wm. E.
Burns, Thos. R.	Richardson, Thos.
Brown, Daniel,	Skein, Joseph
Cazier, John	Wilson, Geo.
Cazier, James	Woolsey, Thos.

Most of the houses built at Pueblo by the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins were so far completed as to be occupied Dec. 5, 1846. Though only rude cabins, they found them much better than tents to live in. The valley in which they were located was well adapted for winter quarters. What snow fell soon melted, and there was good grazing for their animals. True, they had occasional wind storms, when the dust would be blown through the crevices of their houses, covering their food and everything else, but though unpleasant and annoying, this was so slight an evil, compared with what they had previously suffered from, that they felt to bear it without complaining.

The men, and families too, were tolerably well supplied with food, so that none need suffer from hunger. An occasional hunting expedition would result in securing a supply of venison, which furnished a very acceptable change of diet. Most of the sick were also very much improved since getting rid of the drugs of the inhuman doctor. A few cases of sickness, however, still lingered on.

Oct. 21, 1846, Mrs. Fanny Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington, gave birth to a child which died Nov. 9, 1846. On the same day the twin son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, by his wife Celia, died. Both the little innocents were buried in one grave.

"On the 15th of January, 1847," writes Elder Daniel Tyler, "nine

wagons, loaded with sixty days' rations, for the command, arrived from Bent's Fort, and the convalescent soldiers and their families were thereby enabled to experience the contrast between short food and hard labor and full rations and no labor.

"On the 19th, John Perkins, a fine young man, died, after a lingering illness, and was buried the following day.

"About this time the command commenced the practice of squad drills, in which the men became very proficient.

"Owing to rumors being freely circulated to the effect that the Mexicans and Indians intended to attack Pueblo, preparations for defence were made, and Captain Brown also called upon the old settlers for assistance, which they promised to render. The people of Bent's Fort were also alarmed, lest the enemy might make a sudden raid upon them. Communication with Santa Fe had been cut off.

"On the 5th of February another death occurred, that of Brother James A. Scott, a promising young man, after a short but severe illness, from winter fever and liver complaint. He was buried with the honors of war.

"On the evening of the 28th, Corporal Arnold Stevens died, and was buried the next day, with military honors; and on the 10th of April M. S. Blanchard also departed this life, after a lingering illness. The great number of deaths that occurred among that portion of the Battalion who wintered at Pueblo were doubtless due, mainly, to diseases contracted through the exposure and hardships of the journey and the

murderous drugging which they had received from Dr. Sanderson, though the unhealthfulness of Pueblo may partly account for them, as some claim. As many of the Missouri volunteers, who were also stationed at Pueblo for the winter, died, it is probable that climatic influences may have been one cause.

"Captain Brown, having returned from Santa Fe on the 9th, with only a part of the pay due the men, set out again for that post on the 1st of May, for the purpose of trying to obtain the balance. * * *

"As spring advanced the hunters were quite successful in killing the Rocky Mountain or black-tailed deer, which abounded in the mountains in that region. They do not differ materially from other deer, except that they are larger and darker in winter than those found east of the Rocky Mountains. When fat, their meat has a fine flavor and is preferable to the more eastern species. In fact, this rule holds good with most mountain game, and even domestic animals.

"May 18, 1847, Captains Brown and Higgins and others, returned from Santa Fe with the soldiers' money and orders to march to California.

"The wagons were loaded, and the command took up the line of march and crossed the Arkansas River on the 24th of May, at noon. * * *

"On the 29th travel was resumed towards California by way of Fort Laramie, on the Platte River. The south fork of the river was reached on the 3rd of June, and from that time the course of travel lay down that stream, which was crossed two days later (June 5th), and

murderous drugstore which they had received from Dr. Sanderson, though the unkindness of Pueblo may partly account for them, as some claim. As many of the Missouri volunteers, who were also stationed at Pueblo for the winter, died, it is probable that climatic influences may have been one cause.

"Captain Brown, having returned from Santa Fe on the 21st with only a part of the pay due the men, set out again for that post on the 1st of May, for the purpose of trying to obtain the balance."

"As spring advanced the hunters were quite successful in killing the Rocky Mountain or black-tailed deer, which abounded in the mountains of that region. They do not differ materially from other deer, except that they are larger and darker in color than those found east of the Rocky Mountains. When fat, their meat has a fine flavor and is preferable to the more eastern species. In fact, this rule holds good with most mountain game, and even domestic animals."

"May 18, 1847, Captain Brown and Higgins and others, returned from Santa Fe with the soldiers' money and orders to march to California."

"The wagons were loaded, and the command took up the line of march and crossed the Arkansas River on the 21st of May, at noon."

"On the 23rd travel was resumed towards California by way of Fort Laramie, on the Platte River. The south fork of the river was reached on the 2d of June, and from that time the course of travel lay down that stream, which was crossed two days later (June 5th), and

wagons, loaded with sixty days' provisions, for the command, arrived from Bent's Fort, and the convalescent soldiers and their families were thereby enabled to experience the contrast between short food and hard labor and full rations and no labor."

"On the 15th, John Terhune, a fine young man, died, after a lingering illness, and was buried the following day."

"About this time the command commenced the practice of squad drills, in which the men became very proficient."

"Owing to rumors being freely circulated to the effect that the Mexicans and Indians intended to attack Pueblo, preparations for defense were made, and Captain Brown also called upon the old settlers for assistance, which they promised to render. The people of Bent's Fort were also alarmed, lest the enemy might make a sudden raid upon them. Communication with Santa Fe had been cut off."

"On the 5th of February another death occurred, that of Brother James A. Scott, a promising young man, after a short but severe illness, from winter fever and liver complaint. He was buried with the honors of war."

"On the evening of the 28th, Corporal Arnold Stevens died, and was buried the next day, with military honors; and on the 10th of April M. S. Rhoads also departed this life, after a lingering illness. The great number of deaths that occurred among that portion of the Battalion who wintered at Pueblo were doubtless due, mainly, to diseases contracted through the exposure and hardships of the journey and the

owing to the great depth of the water, the wagon boxes had to be raised and blocks of wood put under them to keep the loading dry.

"On the afternoon of June 11th, while on Pole Creek, to the great joy of the detachments, they were met by Elder Amasa M. Lyman of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, who was accompanied by Brothers Thomas Woolsey, Roswell Stevens and John H. Tippetts, from Winter Quarters, bringing letters from the families and friends of the soldiers, as well as counsel from President Brigham Young; also news of the travels and probable destination of the Church. * * *

"We will now explain how John H. Tippetts and Thomas Woolsey, two members of the detachments that wintered at Pueblo, happened to be at Winter Quarters when Elder Amasa M. Lyman left there, as it had been stated that they accompanied him to meet the detachments, and yet no mention was previously made of their having left the Battalion:

"Dec. 23, 1846, these fearless soldiers left Pueblo, on the head waters of the Arkansas River, alone and without a guide, to take money to their families and friends, whom they had not heard from since John D. Lee and Howard Egan overtook the Battalion as previously noted.

"The second day they passed Pike's Peak. When they awoke in the morning they found themselves ensconced under about six inches of snow. The fourth night they camped on Cherry Creek, near where Denver City now stands. On arriving at the South Fork of the Platte River, they followed down it, passing an old deserted Indian village. A se-

vere east wind arose, which forced them to take shelter under the bank of the river during the night, where they slept on the ice. Brother Tippetts avers that the weather was so cold that six inches of the tail of one of the mules was frozen. Another day's travel took them to where they could get wood. Here they remained for three days, owing to the severity of the weather. They killed a buffalo, which gave them a supply of meat. After one day's travel from this point, one of the men went for water and was driven back by a buffalo sentinel. They followed the river down to Grand Island, where some Pawnee Indians took them prisoners and detained them one day and night.

"They crossed the river below the island on the ice, then continued eastward to the Elk Horn River. Here they packed sand in their blankets to keep the mules from slipping on the ice, which was rather thin and weak, but they succeeded in crossing in safety.

"The same day they were stopped by a band of Omaha Indians. Among them was a white man. Brother Tippetts asked him if he could speak English. He answered 'Yes.' Then he exclaimed, 'For God's sake, tell us where we are!' They found themselves within sixteen miles of Winter Quarters, where they arrived at dark, Feb. 15, 1847, at the house of President Brigham Young, where a picnic party was gathered. Being invited, they freely partook of the supper, which was to them a great treat, as they had been three days without food. Brother Tippetts had previously dreamed of partaking of just such a feast. They were out fifty-two days, traveling like Abra-

ham, not knowing whither they went.

"After the meeting with Brother Lyman and the friends who accompanied him, the journey was resumed, and on the 13th of June, while resting, during the afternoon, the detachment was addressed by Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, who imparted such instructions as he had received from President Young and the quorum of the Twelve, for the Battalion, prominently among which was an exhortation to live as Saints and followers of Jesus Christ, and forsake all of their sins and evil deeds.

"It was then supposed the detachment would have to march to California to be discharged.

"On the night of the 16th, the command camped within one mile of Fort Laramie, about 540 miles west of Council Bluffs, where they were mustered into service eleven months before.

"President Young, with a company of pioneers, making their way westward, had passed Laramie twelve days previous, and with a view to overtaking them, the command made an early start on the morning of the 17th and followed up their trail.

"The road was bad, almost impassable in places, so that travel was necessarily slow and tedious; but they gradually gained on the Pioneers, whose journeyings they occasionally learned of by finding a post set up at a camping place, with writing on it, showing when the Pioneers had passed there.

"On arriving at the ferry on the Platte, the command learned that the Pioneers were one day's travel in advance. Finding a blacksmith working at this point, a halt was made for one day, in order to get animals

shod. Many emigrants on their way to Oregon or California were crossing the ferry, and among them many of the old enemies of the Saints, the Missouri mobocrats. All the way from this point to where the pioneer trail branched off from the Oregon route, many emigrants were seen making their way to the western coast by the northern route."

Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of the journey to Salt Lake Valley. The command failed to overtake President Young's pioneer company, except 11 men who pushed on ahead of their comrades and came up with the Pioneers at Green River, July 4, 1847. The rest of Captain Brown's detachment arrived in the valley July 29, 1847, a few days after the Pioneer had entered the valley. Here they were formally disbanded, without having to proceed on to California as had been expected.

The members of the main body of the Battalion, in proceeding on their journey from the point where Lieutenant Willis' detachment left them in November, 1847, were reduced to such straits for food that to stay their hunger they cut up raw hide in fine pieces and made soup of it. The poor work oxen that were used to draw the wagons, when so reduced in flesh that they presented the spectacle of walking skeletons, and were forced to give up from sheer exhaustion, were utilized in the only way they could be then—they were killed and distributed among the starving men, who ate every particle of them that could be eaten with an avidity and relish difficult to be imagined by any person who has not experienced what those men then did—starvation. When unable to find other

food to subsist upon, some of them actually plucked the wool from the sheepskins that were under their pack-saddles, and then roasted the hides and ate them. They had to cross deserts in their march, traveling at times all day long and even then camping at night without finding water with which to quench their thirst. The guides who accompanied them were unacquainted with the country through which they passed, never having traveled the route before. They had branched off from the road and were trying to find a new and shorter route to California than that leading through the settlements of Sonora, much further to the south. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, told his men that he had seen hard service as a private soldier, and endured forced marches with his knapsack on his back, but his suffering would not compare with that of the men under his command. The endurance of every man was put to the test, and quite a number of them were forced to succumb, as their swollen tongues and parched lips attested their extreme thirst, or their worn out constitutions failed to furnish the strength to proceed further.

The country through which the Battalion passed in the early part of December abounded with wild cattle. It was estimated that about four thousand of them were seen in one day. Many of these were killed to furnish the Battalion with beef, and of that kind of food the men had a surfeit, for they had beef and that alone to subsist upon. There seemed to be comparatively few cows in the herds they saw, and it was presumed that they had been killed off by the Indians. The wild

bulls were disposed to show fight, especially when wounded, and some little trouble and excitement was caused in the ranks by these animals bounding into the midst of the men in their mad fury and goring and trampling upon everything in their way. Two men were severely injured, one mule gored to death and some others were knocked down and hurt. These bulls were very hard to kill, and would charge upon the men in furious desperation after having half a dozen bullets shot into them, unless one happened to penetrate the heart. While traveling down the river San Pedro, where thickets of muskeet and other brush were very abundant, the attacks of these wild animals became so frequent that it was found necessary for the safety of the men, to travel with their muskets ready loaded and fire a volley at the animals on their first approach.

The guides, who were sent on in advance of the Battalion, returned one evening and reported that their most direct route was through the old garrison town of Tucson, about two days' travel in advance of them, but that they would likely find difficulty in passing through it, as there was a strong force of Mexican soldiers there, who could easily raise volunteers among the citizens to assist them in offering a resistance, and that they intended to prevent the Battalion from entering their town. Also that one of their number, Doctor Foster, had been detained at Tucson as a spy.

Colonel Cooke was not the man to be daunted, nor turned a hundred miles out of his way by a Mexican garrison, and he accordingly drilled his men, inspected their fire-arms,

dealt out to them an extra supply of ammunition, and issued to them the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, Mormon Battalion,
Camp on the San Pedro,

December 13, 1846.

"Thus far on our course to California we have followed the guides furnished us by the general. These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is 100 miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march then to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians. But we will take the straight road before us and overcome all resistance, but shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred: the people of Sonora are not our enemies.

"By order of LIEUT. COL. COOKE.

"P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant."

The Battalion then resumed their march toward Tucson. On the way they met three Spanish soldiers bringing a message from the governor of Fort Tucson to Colonel Cooke, informing him that he must pass around the town, otherwise he would have to fight. These soldiers were taken prisoners by order of the colonel, to be held as hostages for the safety of Dr. Foster, who was detained by the Mexicans. He then sent two guides to Fort Tucson and informed the governor of what he had done and that he did not intend to alter his course, but should pass through the town peaceably. That night a number of Spaniards from Tucson arrived at the Battalion camp bringing with them Doctor Foster and the two guides last sent there, when, of course, they redeemed the Spanish prisoners who were held as hostages. The following morning the command marched to Tucson, where they met with no opposition, for the soldiers and a great many of

the citizens had been so overcome with fear on hearing of the approach of the Battalion that they had fled and taken with them their two cannons and what valuable property they could get away with, and left the town and the rest of the inhabitants to the mercy of their supposed enemies. The citizens who remained treated the command in the best possible style, and exchanged coarse flour, meal, beans, tobacco, quinces, etc., for old clothes and such things as the men had to dispose of. A large quantity of wheat belonging to the Spanish government was found stored in the town, out of which the colonel ordered the mules to be fed, and that sufficient of it be taken along with them to feed the mules a distance of ninety miles; but though he took this liberty with the government property, he strictly charged his men to hold sacred private property as they passed through the town.

After leaving Tucson, the Battalion had an extensive desert to cross which again put to the test the endurance of the men. For a distance of 75 miles they traveled without water for their mules and but a very little for a few of the men; and that little such as they could suck or lap up out of mud holes in some marshy places they found. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, though very strict with his men and rigid in the enforcement of discipline, could not refrain from expressing the pride he naturally felt at the willingness of his men to brave danger, endure hardships and obey his orders. After getting across the desert he remarked that he never would have ventured upon it if he had known its situation and what a task it would be to cross it. He congratulated his men on

their success in getting through and said that he did not believe any other class of men could have accomplished what they had done without showing signs of mutiny. On reaching the Gila River they met hundreds of Pima Indians who greeted them warmly, traded them provisions and gave them the privilege of traveling through their villages. These Indians were peaceably disposed, contented, stalwart fellows, and superior in every respect to those the Battalion had previously encountered on their journey. They spent their time principally in tilling the soil and manufacturing clothing, in which branches they displayed considerable skill. The Mexicans, on learning of the approach of the Battalion, had tried to induce these Indians to unite with them in offering a resistance, promising them if they would do so that they should have all the spoil to be obtained in a fight. This the Pima chief flatly refused to do, saying that his tribe had never shed the blood of white men and he did not wish them to. At the Gila River the Battalion intersected General Kearney's trail, which up to this time had been considerably north of their route. Colonel Cooke also obtained from the chief of the Pimas a quantity of store goods and some mules that he had been entrusted with by General Kearney to keep until the Battalion arrived. In this vicinity also they met three pilots sent back by General Kearney to meet and conduct the Battalion by the nearest route to the ocean. These pilots informed the colonel that he had made the trip to the Gila River in one month's less time than General Kearney expected.

By this time the soldiers were

greatly worn down by their heavy marching and the scarcity of provisions. The rations were reduced to the lowest possible point. Their clothes were almost gone, their shoes were worn out and many were compelled to make mocassins out of raw hide. These mocassins, when dry, were as hard as sheet iron, and cut the feet of the wearers. Some of the men went barefoot, but the country over which they marched was full of various kinds of the cactus and other thorny plants, and they suffered great annoyance and pain from them. These difficulties, however, were not the worst the men had to contend with. There were two or three officers who seemed to forget their obligations as Latter-day Saints, and who, because they happened to have a little brief authority, acted towards their brethren in a tyrannical and unfeeling manner. The men would probably have resented this treatment by acts of violence had they not been restrained by the prudent counsels of Brothers Levi W. Hancock and David Pettegrew. These brethren from their age and experience were looked upon as fathers by the young men, and they were able, by their influence, to do a great amount of good.

The remainder of the trip to the Pacific coast was exceedingly hard on both men and animals. Most of the distance was over deserts where the sand was very deep and neither water nor grass to be found, but the same cheerfulness and determination on the part of the men, which had previously characterized the Battalion, bore them up to the end of the journey, which they reached very opportunely, just in time to prevent by their presence the Mexicans from

making an intended effort to regain possession of California. It was on the 27th of January, 1847, that the Battalion passed Mission San Luis Rey, pleasantly situated on an elevated piece of land, and ascended a hill when the calm, unruffled bosom of the Pacific Ocean burst upon their view.

Many of the brethren then beheld an ocean for the first time in their lives. The columns halted to give the opportunity of gazing upon the scene. Every eye was turned towards its placid surface, every heart beat with unuttered pleasure, every soul was full of thankfulness, but every tongue was silent, for all felt too full to give vent to any expression. They had marched many a long day, and had wearily trudged from the Missouri River, enduring many privations and hardships to reach this point, and though weary, ragged and many barefoot, they could still enjoy the scene. The surrounding hills were covered with wild oats and grass nearly a foot high, growing as luxuriantly as grass was seen at midsummer in the States where the members of the Battalion had formerly lived. The breeze from the ocean, as it winged its way up that fertile valley, was very sweet and refreshing to the tired men. The abundance of fat beef, which was now served out as rations to the Battalion, was exceedingly good to them, reduced as they were for want of food.

They continued their march, and on Jan. 29, 1847, they reached San Diego Mission, close to the port of that name, where they took up their quarters. Here the commander of the Battalion issued the following order:

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"HEADQUARTERS, Mission of San Diego
January 30, 1847.

"Lieutenant Colonel commanding congratulates the Battalion on its safe arrival on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of its march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry; nine-tenths of it through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless prairies, where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick-ax in hand we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock, more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of the mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss.

"The garrison of four Presidios of Sonora, concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause; we drove them out with their artillery; but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus marching, half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

"Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we believed, the approach of the enemy; and this, too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

"Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the 1st Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid in all these labors.

"Thus, volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon you will turn your strict attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

"By order of Lieut. Col. P. ST. GEO. COOKE,
(Signed) P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant."

Feb. 15, 1847, Company B of the Battalion was ordered to take charge of the fort at San Diego, which it did, separating from the other com-

panies. This company remained three months at San Diego, during which time they built several houses, dug fifteen or twenty wells, made picket fences, etc. Some of the men also built and burned a large brick kiln, which was said to be the first in California. With those bricks a court-house and school house were built in San Diego by the men of the company. These were the first houses built of burnt brick at that place. When they were completed the citizens made a feast, and a great parade was made over them. Besides these works, the men did much carpenter work for the people, and the course they pursued secured them many friends, and when they moved from there, they did so amid general regret. Notwithstanding the country was full of cattle, and wheat was abundant in some places, provisions were but scantily furnished to the men and considerable dissatisfaction was felt in consequence.

March 19, 1847, the Battalion, with the exception of an officer and 34 men, who remained for the defense and protection of the post of San Luis Rey, marched to the town of Los Angeles. As they could not get quarters in the town they encamped outside.

On the 6th of April, the officer and men, who had been left at San Luis Rey, joined the main body.

Among the duties assigned to the Battalion, while at Los Angeles, were the guarding of the Cajon Pass of the Sierra Nevada mountains, 45 miles east of Los Angeles, to prevent the passage of hostile Indians, who frequently made raids on the adjacent ranches for the purpose of driving off stock; also the erection of a fort on a small eminence which

commanded the town. General Kearney visited the camp and inspected the Battalion. He expressed himself as being much gratified with the appearance of the men and praised their conduct. A feeling of jealousy was entertained by many of the men belonging to other commands against the Battalion, because of the favor and encomiums bestowed upon them by the officers. Colonel Fremont's men were credited with having very hostile feelings towards the Battalion, and with having threatened to attack them. Fremont was rebellious and would not submit to Kearney, and the latter depended upon the Battalion, it was said, to aid him in case of an open quarrel with Fremont.

One night the Battalion was aroused from slumber and ordered to load and prepare to resist the attack of an enemy. The attack was expected from Fremont's men; but it proved to be a false alarm.

Three men were detailed from each company of the Battalion to serve as an escort to General Kearney in traveling from California to Fort Leavenworth. Among them were N. V. Jones and John W. Binley. General Kearney left Los Angeles May 13, 1847, accompanied by Colonel Cooke and three men of the escort chosen to proceed by water to Monterey. The other nine men of the escort, under Lieutenant Stoneman, journeyed over land to Monterey, where they arrived on the 25th, before the general who did not arrive until the 27th. The next day (May 28th) the detachment drew 75 days' rations, and on the 31st took up its line of march for the Sacramento Valley.

On the 20th and 21st of June they

crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Before reaching the Truckee River, they found a small lake about one mile wide and three miles long. In the vicinity of this lake were several cabins built by that portion of Captain Hastings' company, which was snowed in the previous fall. Their numbers were estimated at about eighty souls, who all perished except about thirty.

The general ordered a halt and detailed five men to bury the dead that were lying upon the ground. One of the men was said to have lived four months on human flesh and brains. Their bodies were mangled in a horrible manner. This place is known as Cannibal Camp. Colonel Fremont passed the general and party at this place. It was the first time the party had seen him since leaving Sutter's Fort. After they had buried the bones of the dead, which had been sawed and broken to pieces for the purpose of obtaining the marrow, they set fire to the cabin and left the horrible place.

From that point the party traveled seven miles further, and encamped within one mile of another cabin, where more dead bodies were found. The general did not, however, order them buried.

Continuing the journey by way of the Humboldt River, the company arrived at Fort Hall July 15th. From there they traveled eastward over mountains and plains to Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived some time in August, 1847. The brethren of the escort, after receiving their discharge, proceeded immediately to join their families near Kanessville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa.

June 29, 1847, about three hun-

dred men of the Battalion were under arms in the public square at Los Angeles, and Colonel Stevenson tried to induce them, or at least one company; to re-enlist. He promised them that they should have the election of their own major and other officers, and that they should be discharged with one year's pay the ensuing February, at any place they wished in California. He also said that a detachment should be sent to meet their families to carry what means they wished to send to them. Some of the officers were very much in favor of the men re-enlisting, and recommended this course to them; but several of the non-commissioned officers and men were opposed to re-enlistment, and their views prevailed.

On the 16th of July, all of the Battalion in Los Angeles were mustered out of service (the time of their enlistment having expired) by Captain Smith, of the 1st Dragoons. They had served the full time of their service faithfully, and had experienced the truth of the predictions made to them by President Young when they enlisted. He had promised them that if they would be faithful to their God, they would not be required to fight. The fighting would be before and behind them; but they would not have to take part in it. These words had been literally fulfilled. They had done their duty as required by their commanding officers, had been brought face to face almost with the enemy, but had been spared the necessity of shedding blood or of running the risk of having their own blood shed.

On the 20th of July, most of the members of the Battalion who did not re-enlist organized, preparatory

to returning to their homes and families, as a traveling camp and appointed Lieutenants Andrew Lytle and James Pace of Company E captains of hundreds, and Sergeants William Hyde, Daniel Tyler and Reddick N. Allred, captains of fifties. Elisha Everett was also appointed captain of ten pioneers. On the 21st the brethren advanced, scarcely knowing whither they went, only they had been told that by traveling northward, mainly under the base of the mountains, Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento River, might be reached in about 600 miles, while the seashore route would be 700 miles. Captain Allred's fifty took up the line of march on the 23rd, and, after traveling 38 miles, arrived at Francisco's Ranch the following day. Here this company remained a few days until the arrival of the other companies on the 27th. Continuing the journey from the ranch above mentioned, they traveled northward until they reached the Sacramento River on the 20th of August. On the 24th they came to a settlement of white people. Daniel Tyler writes:

"We were almost overjoyed to see a colony of Americans, the first we had seen since leaving Fort Leavenworth, about a year previous. But the best of all was the news brought by a man named Smith, who said he had accompanied Samuel Brannan to meet the Church, and who informed us that the Saints were settling in the Great Salt Lake Valley, and that 500 wagons were on the way thither. This was our first intelligence of the movements of the Church since the news brought by Lieutenant Pace and Brothers Lee and Egan, at the Arkansas crossing. One must have our previous sad experience to appreciate our feelings on this occasion.

"The following day, we rested and held meeting in the evening, as we had frequently done since our discharge. Some having but a poor fit-out, wished to remain here

and labor until spring, wages being good and labor in demand; besides, a settlement of the New York Saints was within a few miles. President Levi W. Hancock made some appropriate remarks on the union that had been and was among us, and thought that a few might remain and labor until spring and all would be right. He then asked the company if, in case any felt to remain, they should have our prayers and blessings. All voted in the affirmative. Good remarks were also made by others on the same subject. A few remained. Wages were said to be from \$25 to \$60 per month, and hands hard to get at any price, as there were so few in the country.

"On the 26th, we traveled 20 miles and encamped on American Fork, two miles from Sutter's Fort. Here the animals that had become tender-footed were shod, at a cost of \$1 per shoe. We also purchased our outfit of unbolted flour at \$8 per hundred. * * *

"On the 27th, the pioneers and about thirty others advanced, while the bulk of the company remained to get horses shod. The advance made about eighteen miles, from which point our course changed from northward to eastward.

"On the 28th, we arrived at Captain Johnson's mill, on Bear Creek. This man had Indians laboring for him, who were entirely naked. I noticed one large man, probably six feet in height, come and stand by the door, an unabashed picture of nature unadorned. He was apparently waiting for the young woman of the house—the captain's wife—to give him something to eat. Captain Johnson passed in and out of the house while the savage stood by the door, without taking any exceptions to his nude appearance, from which we inferred that he was used to seeing the Indians in such a condition. Indeed, we were informed that those he hired, went without clothing, and the Indian we saw there was probably one of his employes.

"Captain Johnson was said to have been one of Fremont's Battalion, and his young wife was one of the survivors of the ill-fated company who had been snowed in at the foot of the Sierras. * * * Her mother, Mrs. Murray, who was a Latter-day Saint, was among the number who perished in that horrible scene of death. The circumstances under which she became a member of that company were explained to us by her daughter, Mrs. Johnson.

"The lady being a widow, with several children dependent upon her for support, while residing in Nauvoo, heard of a chance

of obtaining employment at Warsaw, an anti-Mormon town, 20 miles lower down the Mississippi. Thinking to better her condition, she, accordingly, removed to Warsaw, and spent the winter of 1845-46 there. In the spring of the latter year, a party about emigrating to Oregon or California offered to furnish passage for herself and children on the condition that she would cook and do the washing for the party. Understanding California to be the final destination of the Saints, and thinking this a good opportunity to emigrate without being a burden to the Church, she accepted the proposition; but, alas! the example of Sister Murray, although her motives were good, is an illustration of the truism, 'that it is better to suffer affliction with the people of God' and trust in Him for deliverance, than to mingle with the sinful 'for a season,' and be lured by human prospects of a better result!

"The company crossed the plains during the summer of 1846, under the guidance of Captain Hastings. They passed through Salt Lake Valley, around the south end of the lake, and proceeded on westward. Lacking that union which has characterized companies of Saints, while traveling, they split up into factions, each party determined to take its own course. The few who remained with the persevering captain, pushed through to California, while the others were caught in the snows of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The party Mrs. Murray was with was next in rear of that of the captain, and, of course, nearest the source of relief. After their food was exhausted, in fact, after several had succumbed to death through hunger, and others were subsisting upon their flesh, a few of them, one of whom was Mrs. Murray's eldest daughter (afterwards Mrs. Johnson), in desperation, resolved to make an attempt to cross the mountains and obtain relief. Fitting themselves out with snow shoes, they started, and, after proceeding some distance, they met Captain Hastings and a party from the Sacramento Valley, coming with provisions to relieve them. On reaching the camp of the starving emigrants, the relief party found Mrs. Murray dead and others perfectly ravenous from starvation. Children were actually crying for the flesh of their parents while it was being cooked. There was good reason to suspect that Sister Murray had been foully dealt with, as she was in good health when her daughter left her, and could scarcely have perished from hunger during the brief period of her absence.

"Leaving Captain Johnson's mill, we proceeded on, following the trail of General Kearney. On arriving at Bear Creek, in Bear Valley, we found three wagons and a blacksmith's forge, which had been abandoned by the emigrants who were snowed in the previous winter. We rested there one day, to recruit our animals, the feed being good, and found plenty of huckleberries, which were a fine treat.

"During the 3rd of September, we passed other wagons at the place where General Kearney's party had buried the remains of the famished emigrants, and at night reached the place where the rear wagons of the unfortunate Hastings company were blocked by the snow, and were horrified at the sight which met our view—a skull covered with hair lying here, a mangled arm or leg yonder, with the bones broken as one would break a beef shank to obtain the marrow from it; a whole body in another place, covered with a blanket, and portions of other bodies scattered around in different directions. It had not only been the scene of intense human suffering, but also of some of the most fiendish acts that man made desperate by hunger could conceive.

"It seemed that on reaching that point on their journey, the unfortunate emigrants were divided into several different parties. Some lagged behind because there was work required to make a road for their wagons, and they were determined not to do it themselves; others were in favor of stopping to recruit their animals, all of which were turned out to grass when the storm came, and scattered and buried them up. In this terrible dilemma their provisions were soon exhausted, and they began to subsist upon the bodies of their dead relatives. Those who had no deceased relatives, borrowed flesh from those who had, to be refunded when they or some of their relatives should die. In some cases, children are said to have eaten their dead parents, and *vice versa*. Some were supposed to have been murdered as we would butcher an ox.

"When relief came, one man had a trunk packed full of human flesh and two buckets full of human blood, stored carefully away. When questioned about the blood, he professed to have extracted it from the veins of two women after they were dead, but the seemingly well-founded opinion was that there had been foul play. Some were caught in the act of eating human flesh for a lunch, as a matter of choice, while they were passing over the mountains with the relief party, after they had obtained plenty of other food. And when their pockets

were examined, they were found to contain chunks of human flesh, which were taken from them and thrown away. One man had even acquired such a mania for that kind of food, that after he had been in Sacramento Valley some months, where food was plentiful, he admitted to having a longing for another such a meal, and expressed to a stout, comely lady a desire for a roast from her body. This cannibal, whose name might be given were it not for shame's sake, was, when we passed through Sacramento Valley, being watched for by the lady's husband, who swore he would shoot him on sight.

"Leaving the tragic scene on the morning of Sept. 6th, we resumed our journey, and in a short time met Samuel Brannan returning from his trip to meet the Saints. We learned from him that the Pioneers had reached Salt Lake Valley in safety, but his description of the valley and its facilities was anything but encouraging. Among other things, Brother Brannan said the Saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake Valley, as, according to the testimony of mountaineers, it froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and if irrigated with the cold mountain streams, the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing, or, if they did grow, they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the Saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young, he answered that he had. On further inquiry as to how his views were received, he said, in substance, that the President laughed and made some rather insignificant remarks; 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.'

"He thought all except those whose families were known to be at Salt Lake had better turn back and labor until spring, when in all probability the Church would come to them; or, if not, they could take means to their families. We camped over night with Brannan, and after he had left us the following morning, Captain James Brown, of the Pueblo detachment, which arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 29th of July, came up with a small party. He brought a goodly number of letters from the families of the soldiers; also an epistle from the Twelve Apostles, advising those who had not means of subsistence to remain in California and

labor, and bring their earnings with them in the spring.

"Henry W. Bigler received a letter from Elder George A. Smith, of the Apostles, stating among other things, that President Brigham Young, with 143 Pioneers, arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 24th day of July. It also mentioned the arrival of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and stated that some were very busy putting in garden and field crops, while others were making adobes to build a temporary fort as a safeguard against Indians. The letter also stated that President Young and the Pioneers would return to Council Bluffs, and Father John Smith, Patriarch, would preside until the Twelve returned the next season.

"From the last named encampment, many, probably over half of the company, returned in accordance with the instructions from the Twelve, to spend the winter in California. We were also overtaken there by a portion of the company left at Sutter's Fort, and a few others who had remained behind our party to travel slowly with Brother Henry Hoyt, who was sick. Brother Hoyt had gradually failed since our separation, and finally died on the 3rd of September, 1847. * * *

"Few incidents of importance occurred during the journey to Salt Lake Valley, where we arrived Oct. 16, 1847, and were overjoyed to meet so many of our friends and relatives. We found them living in a fort consisting of a row of buildings running at right angles around a ten acre block. The rooms all opened into the enclosure, and had small windows or port holes looking outward, for purposes of defense and ventilation. The entrance to the enclosure was through a large gate in the centre of the east side or row of buildings running north and south. The gate was locked at night. The site of that first structure, which is in the Sixth Ward of Salt Lake City, is known still as 'the old fort.' The walls, however, have long since been removed; hence the temporary fortification now exists only in name.

"Many of the men, on arriving in the Valley, were extremely destitute of clothing, but their necessities were somewhat relieved by some of the influential brethren taking up a collection among the families of the settlers of such articles of wearing apparel as they could spare for the benefit of the 'Battalion boys.' Nothing that was donated seemed to come amiss; anything that would cover the nakedness of the men or help to keep them warm was acceptable.

True, the men presented rather a motley, and, in some instances, almost a ludicrous appearance, on account of the disparity in the color and fit of their several garments, but comfort with them was the first consideration, and they were thankful to get anything that would tend to that object. President John Taylor and Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter were foremost among those who made the collection of clothing for the destitute soldiers.

"Different members of our company brought various kinds of garden and fruit seeds, as well as grain, from California, which were found very useful in this inland valley. * * *

"Lieutenant James Pace introduced the club-head wheat. The author, and perhaps some others, the California pea, now so general and prolific as the field pea of Utah. The detached soldiers who wintered at Pueblo, near the headwaters of the Arkansas River, brought the variety of wheat known as the *taos*, common in our Territory. * * *

"A few of the members of the Battalion found their families in Salt Lake Valley on our arrival there, and, of course, had no further to go; some others were so worn down with fatigue and sickness that they were unable to proceed eastward at that time, and still others preferred to remain in the valley until the following spring and endeavor to prepare a home for their families. Thirty-two out of the number, however, were eager to meet their wives and children, and therefore did not hesitate about continuing their journey another thousand miles, even at that late season of the year. We expected to obtain flour in the valley for the remainder of the journey, but found that the people, as a rule, had not enough to subsist upon until they could harvest a crop. We were informed, however, that plenty of flour could be obtained at Fort Bridger, only 115 miles distant, so, relying upon that prospect, we left the valley in good spirits on Oct. 18, 1847, and started eastward.

"We arrived at Fort Bridger during a rather severe show storm, the first of the season, and, to our chagrin, learned that the stock of flour which had been kept there for sale had all been bought up by emigrants to California and Oregon. Bridger informed us that he had not even reserved any for those located at the post, and they were then living solely upon meat. He thought, however, we could get all we wanted at Laramie, upon reasonable terms.

"On leaving Salt Lake Valley, we had

about ten pounds of flour to the man, hence we were not entirely without when we reached Bridger. We purchased a little beef there to serve us until we could find game, and pushed on. We killed two buffalo bulls before reaching Laramie, and jerked the best of the meat. We had an occasional cake until we reached the upper crossing of the Platte, 100 miles above the fort. There we baked our last cake, on the 4th of November, having made our ten pounds of flour, each, last sixteen days. Of course, during that time we had eaten considerable buffalo and other beef, and occasionally had some small game, including one elk killed by Wm. Maxwell.

"It was, probably, about the 10th of November when we reached Fort Laramie. There, as at Fort Bridger, we were again disappointed about getting flour, the only bread-stuff purchased being one pound of crackers by Captain Andrew Lytle, for which he paid twenty-five cents. We obtained a very little dried buffalo beef of good quality. The post trader advised us not to kill any buffalo when we reached their range, as it would offend the Indians. He considered it would be a safer and better plan to employ the Indians, should we meet any, to kill some buffalo for us.

"Those who had a little money purchased what meat they could afford and divided with the company. Twelve miles below Laramie we found an Indian trader on the south side of the Platte River. A few of the men crossed over and purchased 100 pounds of flour, which cost only \$25. There being but about three pounds to the man, it was decided to use it only for making gravy, or for thickening soup, as we had still about 500 miles of our journey to travel.

"When about sixty or seventy miles below the fort, our meat was exhausted. We were now among a few scattering buffalo, but as we had been informed that it would be dangerous for us to kill any of them, we were in somewhat of a dilemma what course to pursue to obtain food. However, we decided that He who owned the cattle 'upon a thousand hills' had a claim on these, and being His offspring, we would venture to take one. Besides, there had been no Indians in sight for several days, and, last but not least, we might as well die in battle as of hunger, as in the former case our sufferings would be of shorter duration.

"The hunters succeeded in killing one bull and a calf. While skinning the former we saw a smoke and discovered Indians on the south side of the river, opposite to

where we were. We consulted as to the best course to pursue. Some thought we had better go on and leave our booty, but Captain R. N. Allred suggested, very properly, that with our worn-down animals, this would be useless, as in case they were in for fighting, they could soon overtake us; hence, we decided to stand our ground. We dressed our beef and reached camp on the river, from the foot-hills some time after dark. We were not molested. * * *

"About 150 miles below Laramie, we awoke one morning to find ourselves under about twelve inches of snow. From this point to Winter Quarters, about 350 miles, we had to travel and break the trail through snow from one to two feet in depth.

"Just before and after crossing the Loup Fork, we lost a few animals, supposed to have been stolen by Pawnee Indians. Near the crossing of the river, the head of a donkey was found, which Adjutant P. C. Merrill's company had killed some time before for beef. It was supposed to have belonged to Sergeant D. P. Rainey. Captain Allred took an ax and opened the skull, and he and his messmates had a fine supper made of the brains.

"Near the same point Corporal Martin Ewell opened the head of a mule killed by Captain James Pace's company only the day before, with the same result.

"The day we reached the Loup Fork, we divided and ate the last of our food, which in the main consisted of rawhide 'saddle-bags' we had used from California to pack our provisions in. This was during a cold storm which lasted several days. Our next food was one of Captain Lytle's young mules, which had given out and was unable to travel. This was the first domestic animal our little company had killed since our beef cattle in California, although we had several times looked with a wistful eye upon a small female canine belonging to Joseph Thorne, who, with his wife and one or two children, in a light wagon, had accompanied us from Fort Bridger. Friend Joseph, however, removed the temptation by trading her to the Pawnee Indians for a small piece of dried buffalo meat. Of this family pet, they doubtless made a rare treat, their greatest feasts being composed mainly of dog meat.

"Owing to floating ice, we were unable to cross the Loup Fork for five days, in which time we traveled a few miles down the river and found Captain Pace's company just in time to save them from the danger of being robbed by Pawnee Indians who came over in considerable numbers. Th-

remnants of the two companies afterwards remained together.

"In hopes of procuring some corn from an Indian farm on the opposite side of the river from us, a few of the men ventured to ford the stream, but the corn had been gathered and twice gleaned from the field by other travelers, so that all they could find were a few scattering, rotten ears. Captain Pace and William Maxwell also visited an Indian camp some distance away, to try to purchase food, but failed to get any, as the Indians had none to spare. They, however, stayed all night with them and obtained a good supper and breakfast and were otherwise treated kindly.

"The cold became so intense that the river froze entirely over, and on the morning of the sixth day of our stay upon its banks, we commenced to cross upon the ice. The ice bent and cracked, and holes were soon broken in it, but we persevered until everything was over, the last article being Brother Thorne's wagon. The weather began to moderate when the sun appeared above the horizon, and the ice had become so rotten before we finished crossing that the last few trips were extremely dangerous. But a short time had elapsed after we had gained the other shore before the ice broke away and the river was again covered with floating fragments.

"A kind providence had made the congealed water bridge for our special benefit, and removed it as soon as it had filled its mission. From the killing of Captain Lytle's mule until we reached Winter Quarters, probably ten day's travel, we subsisted upon mule meat alone, without salt. On arriving at Elk Horn River, thirty miles from Winter Quarters, we found a ferry-boat with ropes stretched across, ready to step into and pull over, which of course we did.

"It was understood that this boat was built by the Pioneers, and was first used by them. It afterwards served the companies who followed on their trail; was then used by the Pioneers and Lieutenant Merrill's company on their return; and last, but not least, by us, for whom it had been last left. We crossed Dec. 17, 1847.

"The next morning, we arose early and took up the line of march, and the foremost men arrived in Winter Quarters about sundown, while the rear came in a little after dark. Thus it will be perceived that we were just two months in making the journey from Salt Lake to the Missouri River. * * * Some of the company found their families in the town of Winter Quarters

while others were across the Missouri River at or near Kaneshville, now Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County, Iowa. The reader can more easily imagine our joy and that of our families and friends than it can be described.

"The kindness of friends, brethren and sisters, on our arrival at Winter Quarters, now Florence, Nebraska, is deserving of special mention. All the soldiers, although in some instances they were highly respectable, were unavoidably dirty and ragged; yet they found only warm-hearted, sympathetic brethren, sisters and friends among the people, from President Young and the Twelve Apostles to the least child who knew what the words 'Mormon Battalion' meant. They had been taught to know that the valiant corps had been offered like Isaac, a living sacrifice for the Church as well as the nation."

A company made up from the discharged Battalion in California re-enlisted in July, 1847, for six months and elected Captain Daniel C. Davis, formerly captain of Company E, to command them. The object of their enlistment was to garrison the port of San Diego. They were mustered into service at Ciudad de Los Angeles, Cal., July 20, 1847, and were known as the "Mormon Volunteers." Following are their names:

Officers.

Daniel C. Davis, captain.
Cyrus C. Canfield, 1st lieutenant.
Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.
Robert Clift, 3rd lieutenant.
Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.
Samuel Myers, 2nd sergeant.
Benjamin F. Mayfield, 3rd sergeant.
Henry Packard, 4th sergeant.
Thoril Peck, 1st corporal.
Isaac Harrison, 2nd corporal.
Hiram B. Mount, 3rd corporal.
Edwin Walker, 4th corporal.
Richard D. Sprague, musician.
Henry W. Jackson, musician.

Privates.

Boyle, Henry G.	Brown, Wm. W.
Bailey, Addison	Beckstead, Gordon S.
Bailey, Jefferson	Brizzee, Henry W.
Beckstead, Orin M.	Bryant, John S.
Bowing, Henry	Callahan, Thomas W.
Brass, Benjamin	Calkins, Edwin R.

Carter, Philo J.	Nalle, Conrad
Clark, Riley O.	Noler, Christian
Clawson, John R.	Peck, Isaac
Clift, James	Peck, Edwin M.
Condit, Jephtha	Park, James
Covil, John Q. A.	Ritter, John
Donald, Neal	Riser, John J.
Dayton, William J.	Runyan, Levi
Dutcher, Thos. P.	Richards, Peter F.
Earl, Jacob	Sexton, Geo. S.
Earl, Jesse	Shumway, Aurora
Evans, Wm.	Smith, Willard G.
Fatoute, Ezra	Smith, Lot
Fellows, Hiram W.	Steele, Geo.
Fletcher, Philander	Steele, Isaiah
Hart, James S.	Steers, Andrew
Harmon, Ebenezer	Thompson, Miles
Harmon, Lorenzo F.	Watts, John
Harmon, Oliver N.	West, Benjamin
Hickenlooper, Wm.	Wheeler, John L.
Kibley, James W.	Wheeler, Henry
Lemmon, James	Williams, James V.
Lance, Wm.	Winters, Jacob
Maggard, Benj.	Workman, Andrew J.
Morris, Thos.	Workman, Oliver G.
Mowrey, James	Young, Nathan
McBride, Haslem	Zabriskie, Jerome
Mowrey, John T.	

This company had very little military duty to perform, hence, by virtue of agreement with the military commander, made before enlistment, the most of the men, when off duty, turned their attention to common and mechanical labor, and by this means San Diego again began to awake from her slumbers and deadness to life and thrift.

Sept. 8, 1847, Sergeant L. N. Frost died; and on the 5th of November following Neal Donald also passed away.

The time for which this company of "Mormon Volunteers" enlisted, expired on Jan. 20, 1848, but they were not mustered out for almost two months after that. In the meantime they were very busily employed when not on duty. One of the men, Brother Henry G. Boyle, writing of their labors, says:

"I think I whitewashed all San Diego. We did their blacksmithing, put up a bakery, made and repaired carts, and, in fine

did all we could to benefit ourselves as well as the citizens. We never had any trouble with Californians or Indians, nor they with us. The citizens became so attached to us that before our term of service expired, they got up a petition to the governor of California to use his influence to keep us in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in the town. The governor tried hard to keep us in the service another year. Failing in that, he tried us for six months longer."

This latter offer was declined, and other volunteers took their place. The social evil spread among the soldiers under the new regime, and their condition is reported as having been simply horrible. Brother Boyle sums up the matter by saying that "civilization was fully established."

On the 14th of March, 1848, the company's time of enlistment having overrun nearly two months, it was disbanded at San Diego. These veterans drew their pay the day following, and, on the 21st, a company of 25 men, with H. G. Boyle as captain, started for Salt Lake Valley.

On the 31st they arrived at Williams' ranche, and fitted out for the journey by the southern route. Those who did not join the home-bound company mostly went up the coast to the mines, towns and farms, and some of them died in that land; others returned the year following, while some still remain in California.

On the 12th of April, the little company having obtained a proper outfit, again took up the line of march. O. P. Rockwell and James Shaw, who had traveled the route the previous winter, were chosen pilots by and for the company. They started with only one wagon and 135 mules. Of course they were packers. They arrived at Salt Lake City, June 5, 1848. Theirs was the

first wagon that ever traveled the southern route, which is the only feasible route from Salt Lake City, to travel by wagons in the winter season, to Southern California.

Most of the soldiers who returned to California from the Truckee River in September, 1847, found employment with Captain John A. Sutter. This man being desirous of building a flouring mill, some six miles from the fort, and a saw-mill about forty-five miles away, proposed to hire all the men, about forty in number, either by the job or month, at their option, to dig the races. Twelve and a half cents per yard, and provisions found, was finally agreed upon, the men to do their own cooking. Their animals were also to be herded with the Captain's, free of charge.

Captain Sutter advanced one half of the prospective cost in gentle work oxen. A portion of the men obtained plows, picks, spades, shovels and scrapers and moved up to the designated point for the saw-mill, while the balance went to dig the race for the grist-mill. The former commenced labor about the 17th, clearing \$1.50 each the first day. They subsequently earned more. The frame of the flouring mill, a short distance from the present site of Sacramento City, was raised the latter part of December, 1847, and the saw-mill probably a little later. To the credit of "Mormon" labor, be it remembered, is California indebted for the erection of these mills. Much credit is due Captain Sutter and his partner, Mr. Marshall, for starting these enterprises and their gentlemanly bearing towards the discharged soldiers. Daniel Tyler writes:

"On or about Jan. 24, 1848, the water was turned into the race above the saw-mill. The race was found good, but the water, in leaving the flume and reaching the head of the tail race, having considerable fall, washed a hole near the base of the building. Being turned off, Superintendent Marshall went below to ascertain what effect the wash was likely to have. While thus examining, his eyes caught sight of yellow shining metal, which he picked up, not knowing what it was, but believed it to be gold. A subsequent assay proved his conjecture to be correct. The nuggets were in value from 25 cents to \$5 each.

"It is detracting nothing from Captain Sutter or his partner, Mr. Marshall, to say that although the latter was the 'lucky man' in making the first discovery of gold, the uncovering of the precious metal was the result of the labor of a portion of the members of the Mormon Battalion, hence it may very properly be said that 'Mormon' labor opened up and developed one of the greatest resources of our nation's wealth. * * *

"The intelligence of the discovery of gold was shortly after confidentially conveyed to Wilford Hudson, W. S. S. Willis and Ephraim Green, who subsequently came to the mill and learned the foregoing facts.

"They examined the rock at the bottom of the wash and found a few additional specimens. After stopping and resting a few days, they returned to the flouring mill, thence to an island in the Sacramento River, subsequently known as 'Mormon Island.' On that island or sand-bar was found gold in paying quantities, but, strange to say, only a little company of nine persons out of about forty could be persuaded that it was a reality, although the dust was exhibited and the fact stated that men were digging and washing from twenty to thirty dollars of pure gold nuggets and dust per day. This order of things, however, lasted only a few weeks, until its opposite was realized. The secret was made public and such fabulous reports were circulated that 'in the settlements along the coast and on the rivers, lawyers closed their offices, doctors forsook their patients, schools were dismissed, farmers allowed their grain to fall to the ground uncared for, and almost everybody of every description came in every conceivable way and manner, in one grand, wild rush to the 'gold diggings:' on horses, mules, with wheelbarrows, with packs on their own backs, and some with nothing but the dirty rags they stood up in, and in a few weeks, the mountain wilderness was turned into busy mining camps, and the whole face

of the country seemed to change as if by magic.' * * *

"According to previous arrangements, a company of eight persons started May 1, 1848, Sergeant David Browett being elected captain, to pioneer, if possible, a wagon road over the Sierra Nevada Mountains eastward, the Truckee route being impracticable at that season of the year. This company consisted of David Browett, captain, Ira J. Willis, J. C. Sly, (known as Captain Sly), Israel Evans, Jacob M. Truman, Daniel Allen, J. R. Allred, Henderson Cox and Robert Pixton.

"Three days' travel brought this company to Iron Hill, where they found the snow so deep they could travel no further.

"Brothers Willis, Sly and Evans ascended to the summit of a mountain. Seeing nothing but snow-capped mountains in advance of them, it was decided not to abandon but to postpone the enterprise until a later period. So far as they could judge, a wagon road would at least be possible and perhaps a success. One day's travel in descending took them back from winter's cold, snowy regions to a warm, spring atmosphere, where flowers bloomed and vegetation was far advanced.

"The balance of May and the month of June were spent in digging gold, buying wagons and a full outfit for a wagon train, and making a rendezvous in Pleasant Valley a beautiful place, about fifty miles east of Sutter's Fort.

"About the 24th of June, Captain Browett, Daniel Allen and Henderson Cox desired to cross the mountains on a second exploring tour, but their friends, or at least a portion of them, thought the undertaking risky, owing to the wild Indians. They, however, being fearless and anxious to be moving, decided to brave all dangers and make the effort. They started, and the sequel will show that the fears of their friends were but too well founded.

"By the 2nd of July, the company were again on the march; two days' travel from Pleasant Valley, brought them to Sly's Park, a small valley or mountain dell, thus named for Captain James C. Sly, who first discovered it. Here the company made a halt. Ten men, on the 4th, took up the line of march to pioneer the way over the summit of the mountains. Four days' travel over rough and rugged mountains took them across, and they found themselves safely landed at the head of Carson Valley, Nevada. As they returned to their comrades, they spent six days endeavoring to find a more practicable route, but failed.

"On the 16th of July, the company again broke camp, and the next day arrived at Leek Springs. Here, in the absence of Captain Browett, the company again organized, with Jonathan Holmes, President, and Lieutenant Samuel Thompson, captain.

"The company numbered about 37 individuals, all told, with 16 wagons and two small Russian cannon, which they had purchased before leaving Sutter's, one a four, the other a six-pounder. The cost of these guns was \$400.

"This little band, like most of the Battalion, had great confidence in Divine interposition in their behalf, believing that a kind Providence would second their efforts to return to their families and friends. * * *

"In addition to the outfit already named, they subsequently obtained about one hundred and fifty head of horses and mules, with about the same number of horned stock, consisting of work oxen, cows and calves. This camp was kept one day after the return of the explorers, to work the road which they had pioneered. They had no guide, nor, so far as known, had the foot of white man ever trod upon the ground over which they were then constructing, what subsequently proved to be a great national highway for the overland travel.

"Some four or five miles took them to what they named Tragedy Springs. After turning out their stock and gathering around the spring to quench their thirst, some one picked up a blood-stained arrow, and after a little search other bloody arrows were also found, and near the spring the remains of a camp fire, and a place where two men had slept together and one alone. Blood on rocks was also discovered, and a leather purse with gold dust in it was picked up and recognized as having belonged to Brother Daniel Allen. The worst fears of the company: that the three missing pioneers had been murdered, were soon confirmed. A short distance from the spring was found a place about eight feet square, where the earth had lately been removed, and upon digging therein they found the dead bodies of their beloved Brothers, Browett, Allen and Cox, who left them twenty days previously. These brethren had been surprised and killed by Indians. Their bodies were stripped naked, terribly mutilated and all buried in one shallow grave.

"The company buried them again, and built over their grave a large pile of rock, in a square form, as a monument to mark their last resting place, and shield them from the wolves. They also cut upon a large pine tree near by their names, ages,

manner of death, etc. Hence the name of the springs.

"After the darkness of night had gathered around them, and they were sadly conversing by the camp-fire, Indians or wild animals came within smelling or hearing distance of their stock, which became so frightened that they rushed to within a few rods of the camp-fire, forming a circle around it, with their eyes shining like balls of fire in the darkness. As quick as possible, a cannon was loaded and fired. The belching forth of fire in the darkness, accompanied by the terrific report, echoing many times across the little valley, so terrified their animals that they scattered in every direction, and it was not until late the second day that all were recovered, some having been overtaken at a distance of twenty-five miles on their back track. If, as was thought, Indians were in the vicinity, intending to make raid upon the camp, the report of the cannon so frightened them that they fled, as nothing was seen of them. The Digger Indians, at that time, were almost entirely unacquainted with the use of fire arms, and the effect upon them, of the roaring of a cannon, in the stillness of the night, may easily be imagined.

"While some were hunting the stock, others were working the road, and the balance removing camp to Rock Springs, only about four miles from the place where the men were murdered.

"At Rock Springs the company halted two or three days, and with the entire force were only able to work the road for a distance of three miles to another opening, after which the camp marched only five miles, which took them over the highest mountains, though not over the main dividing ridge.

"This was about the 1st of August, and yet, strange to tell, those prairie farmers of the Middle and Western States, with their wagons, had to be hauled over various banks of 'the beautiful snow,' in some places from ten to fifteen feet deep. On this short day's march, two wagons were upset and two broken, the spokes in the hind wheel of one being all broken. New spokes were, however, soon made from a dry pine tree near at hand, which did such good service that the wheel required no further repairs until the company reached Salt Lake Valley.

"Other work was required upon the road, and then a journey of about five miles brought the company near to the summit of the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The next morning, the wagons were lightened by the heaviest freight being

packed upon mules over the ridge and down the steep descent of the mountain. They camped near the eastern base, giving the place the name of Hope Valley; the spirits of the explorers who first discovered it reveling when they arrived in sight of it.

"The next day's travel took them to the lower end of the valley. Before they could advance further, four days more were spent in working the road. They then traveled five miles down the canyon to the head of Carson Valley. Here, like the Puritan fathers upon landing at Plymouth Rock, they tendered thanks to God who had delivered them, not from the dangers of the sea, but the far more dreaded merciless savages, the ferocious wild beasts that abounded in that region, and from being dashed to pieces while traveling over and around the steep precipices of the everlasting snow-capped mountains. They had no idea of the magnitude of the work they had performed, nor did it once enter their minds that in less than twelve months many thousands of their fellow-countrymen would gladly avail themselves of this road to reach a land they had so cheerfully and recently left.

"They traveled down the Carson River a few days, but not feeling satisfied to go further in that direction, they halted, and Israel Evans, with a few others, went on another exploring tour. They sighted a grove of cottonwood trees several miles northward. They returned to camp, and the next day, after toiling hard as they had done several previous days, through sage brush and sand, the grove was reached. On arriving, they were almost overjoyed to find themselves in the emigrant road, near the lower crossing of the Truckee River. They now knew where they were and about the distance they had to travel, and governed themselves accordingly. They soon met a few trains of California emigrants, who, on learning that they were fresh from a new Eldorado, were anxious to learn what the prospects were.

"One of the men began to explain, and, taking his purse from his pocket, poured into his hand perhaps an ounce of gold dust and began stirring it with his finger. One aged man of probably over three score years and ten, who had listened with intense interest while his expressive eyes fairly glistened, could remain silent no longer; he sprang to his feet, threw his old wool hat upon the ground, and jumped upon it with both feet, then kicked it high in the air, and exclaimed, 'Glory, hallalujah, thank God, I shall die a rich man yet!' Many very in-

teresting and somewhat similar scenes occurred as the tidings were communicated to other trains, this company having brought over the snow-capped Sierra Nevada Mountains the first news of the discovery of gold in California.

"When this enterprising little company reached Goose Creek mountains, instead of following the old emigrant road *via* Fort Hall, on Snake River, some two hundred miles more or less out of their way, they struck across the country, by what is now known as the Deep Creek route, crossing the Malad and Bear Rivers a few miles above their junction. They arrived in Salt Lake Valley about the 1st of October, 1848, feeling happy and thankful that they had exchanged the land of gold for wives, children and friends—the home of the Latter-day Saints.

"In all of the travels of the Battalion, making in the round trip about five thousand miles, often in close proximity to far superior forces of the enemy, as well as passing through several strong nations of wild and ferocious Indians, there was 'no fighting except with wild beasts.' Taking into consideration their many hardships and privations, there were but few deaths, and it may be safely stated that no portion of the veterans of the Mexican war, of the same number, did more effectual service, or accomplished as much in the way of filling the coffers of the nation's wealth as did the Mormon Battalion.

"To the members of the Mormon Battalion, who remained in California after their discharge, to seek work, is also due considerable credit for improvements made and enterprises established in San Francisco and the surrounding region. Zacheus Cheney and James Bailey, of the Battalion, were the first persons to make brick in San Francisco. They commenced the kiln in April, after which Brother Cheney went to the mines, and Brother Bailey burned the bricks—50,000, in June, 1848. Some tiles had previously been burned, and possibly some bricks may have been imported as ballast, but none had ever been made there."

Volumes could be written concerning the many-sided experience and personal adventures of the several members of the Mormon Battalion, although some of the chief incidents are briefly narrated in Daniel Tyler's work previously mentioned. The names of these brave

men, who, responding to the call of their country, left their families and friends in the wilderness in destitute circumstances, and accomplished one of the most formidable marches ever performed by infantry, will be held in honorable remembrance among the Saints; and with future genera-

tions their services, sufferings and patience will call forth the greatest admiration, their example will be held up for imitation, and their posterity will be proud of having ancestors who were members of the Mormon Battalion.

THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

April 5, 1847, Heber C. Kimball moved six of his teams, which he had equipped and prepared to form part of the pioneer company, out of Winter Quarters, and, after traveling six miles in a westerly direction, they camped in a convenient place, thus forming a kind of nucleus for the gathering place for the Saints.

On the 6th the general conference of the Church was held at Winter Quarters, and on the 7th President Brigham Young started for the West and joined the Pioneer camp, which was then located about ten miles west of Winter Quarters. From that point the Pioneers then continued the journey to Elkhorn River, where the news was received that Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived at Winter Quarters from England. Consequently President Young and the brethren of the Twelve who were with him returned to that place to hold a council with Elder Pratt. The brethren met in Dr. W. Richards' office.

On the 9th of April, the Twelve again started on their journey westward, and on Sunday, the 11th, joined the Pioneers at Elkhorn, which stream was crossed by means of a raft that had been constructed previously. But before making the final start, President Young and the Twelve once more returned to Win-

ter Quarters to greet Elder John Taylor, who had just arrived from Europe, bringing with him over \$2,000 in gold for the Church.

Leaving Winter Quarters a third time on April 14th, the Apostles joined the Pioneer camp in the evening of the 15th, at a point 12 miles west of the Elkhorn, and about 47 miles from Winter Quarters. The following day (Friday, April 16, 1847) the people in the camp were called together and organized. Two captains of hundreds (Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood) were appointed, and also 5 captains of fifties, namely, Addison Everett, Tarlton Lewis, James Case, John Pack and Shadrach Roundy. The following named brethren were appointed captains of tens: Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Phineas H. Young, Luke S. Johnson, Stephen H. Goddard, Charles Shumway, James Case, Seth Taft, Howard Egan, Appleton M. Harmon, John S. Higbee, Norton Jacobs, John Brown and Joseph Matthews.

The following is a complete list of the members of the Pioneer company:

First Ten.

Wilford Woodruff,	John S. Fowler,
Jacob D. Burnham,	Orson Pratt,
Joseph Egbert,	John M. Freeman,
Marcus B. Thorpe,	Geo. A. Smith,
Geo. Wardle.	

Second Ten.

Thomas Grover,	Ezra T. Benson,
Barnabas L. Adams,	Roswell Stevens,
Amasa M. Lyman,	Sterling Driggs,
Albert Carrington,	Thomas Bullock,
George Brown,	Willard Richards,
Jesse C. Little.	

Third Ten.

Phineas H. Young,	John Y. Green,
Thomas Tanner,	Brigham Young,
Addison Everett,	Truman O. Angell,
Lorenzo D. Young,	Bryant Stringham,
Joseph S. Scofield,	Albert P. Rockwood.

Fourth Ten.

Luke S. Johnson,	John Holman,
Edmund Ellsworth,	Alvarus Hanks,
George R. Grant,	Millen Atwood,
Samuel Fox,	Tunis Rappleyee,
Harry Pierce,	Wm. Dykes,
Jacob Weiler.	

Fifth Ten.

Stephen H. Goddard,	Tarilton Lewis,
Henry G. Sherwood,	Zebedee Coltrin,
Sylvester H. Earl,	John Dixon,
Samuel H. Marble,	Geo. Scholes,
Wm. Henrie,	Wm. A. Empey.

Sixth Ten.

Chas. Shumway,	Andrew Shumway,
Thos. Woolsey,	Chauncy Loveland,
Erastus Snow,	James Craig,
Wm. Wordsworth,	Wm. Vance,
Simeon Howd,	Seeley Owen.

Seventh Ten.

James Case,	Artemas Johnson,
Wm. C. A. Smoot,	Franklin B. Dewey,
Wm. Carter,	Franklin G. Losce,
Burr Frost,	Datus Ensign,
Franklin B. Stewart,	Monroe Frink,
Eric Glines,	Ozro Eastman.

Eighth Ten.

Seth Taft,	Horace Thornton,
Stephen Kelsey,	John S. Eldredge,
Chas. D. Barnum,	Alma M. Williams,
Rufus Allen,	Robert T. Thomas,
James W. Stewart,	Elijah Newman,
Levi N. Kendall.	Francis Boggs,
David Grant.	

Ninth Ten.

Heber C. Kimball,	Howard Egan,
Wm. A. King,	Thomas Cloward,
Hosea Cushing,	Robert Byard,
George Billings,	Edson Whipple,
Philo Johnson,	Wm. Clayton.

Tenth Ten.

Appleton M. Harmon,	Carlos Murray,
Horace K. Whitney,	Orson K. Whitney,
Orrin P. Rockwell,	Nathaniel T. Brown,
R. Jackson Redding,	John Paack,

Francis Pomeroy,	Aaron Farr,
Nathaniel Fairbanks.	

Eleventh Ten.

John S. Higbee,	John Wheeler,
Solomon Chamberlain,	Conrad Klineman,
Joseph Rooker,	Perry Fitzgerald,
John H. Tippetts,	James Davenport,
Henson Walker,	Benjamin Rolfe.

Twelfth Ten.

Norton Jacobs,	Charles A. Harper,
George Woodard,	Stephen Markham,
Lewis Barney,	Geo. Mills,
Andrew Gibbons,	Joseph Hancock,
John W. Norton.	

Thirteenth Ten.

Shadrach Roundy,	Hans C. Hanson,
Levi Jackman,	Lyman Curtis,
John Brown,	Matthew Ivory,
David Powers,	Hark Lay (colored),
Oscar Crosby (colored).	

Fourteenth Ten.

Joseph Matthews,	Gillroid Summe,
John Gleason,	Charles Burke,
Alexander P. Chessley,	Rodney Badger,
Norman Taylor,	Green Flake (colored)

Besides these brethren there were three women in camp, namely, Harriet Page Wheeler Young (wife of Lorenzo D. Young), Clarissa Decker Young (wife of Brigham Young), and Ellen Saunders Kimball (wife of Heber C. Kimball). Also two children (Isaac Perry Decker and Lorenzo Zobriskie Young), making a grand total in the Pioneer Company of 143 men, 3 women and 2 children, or 148 souls all told. The company had 72 wagons, 93 horses, 52 mules, 66 oxen, 19 cows, 17 dogs and some chickens.

At 2 o'clock p. m., on April 16, 1847, the Pioneers made their final start toward the Rocky Mountains, and arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in the latter part of July following. After laying the foundation of a flourishing settlement (Great Salt Lake City), most of the brethren returned to Winter Quarters, arriving there in October, 1847.

MEMBERS OF ZIONS CAMP.

Aldrich, Hazen	Elliott, Bradford W.	Jones, Levi	Smalling, Cyrus
Allen, Joseph	Elliott, David	Kelley, Chas.	Smith, Avery
Allred, Isaac	Evans, David	Kimball, Heber C.	Smith, Geo. A.
Allred, James, captain	Field, Asa	Kingsley, Samuel	Smith, Hyrum
Allred, Martin, capt.	Fisher, Edmund	Lake, Dennis	Smith, Jackson
Andrus, Milo	Fisk, Alfred	Lawson, Jesse B.	Smith, Jazariah B.
Angell, Solomon	Fisk, Hezekiah	Lewis, L. S.	Smith, Jesse B.
Avery, Allen, A.	Fordham, Elijah	Littlefield, Josiah	Smith, Joseph
Babbitt, Almon W.	Fordham, Geo.	Littlefield, Lyman O.	Smith, Lyman
Badlam, Alexander	Forney, Fredrick	Littlefield, Waldo	Smith, Sylvester
Baker, Samuel	Fossett, John	Lyman, Amasa M.	Smith, Wm.
Baldwin, Nathan B.	Foster, James	Martin, Moses	Snow, Willard
Barber, Elam	Foster, Solon	Marvin, Edward W.	Snow, Zerubbabel
Barlow, Israel	Gates, Jacob	McBride, Reuben	Stanley, Harvey
Barnes, Lorenzo D.	Gifford, Benjamin	McCord, Robert	Stephens, Daniel
Barney, Edson	Gifford, Levi	Miller, Eleazer, capt.	Stratton, Hyrum
Barney, Royal	Gilbert, Sherman	Miller, John	Strong, Elial
Benner, Henry	Glidden, True	Morse, Justin	Tanner, John
Bent, Samuel	Gould, Dean C.	Murdock, John	Tanner, Nathan
Blackman, Hiram	Grant, Jedediah M.	Nickerson, Freeman	Thayer, Ezra
Booth, Lorenzo	Green, Addison	Nickerson, Levi S.	Thompson, Jas. L.
Brooks, Geo. W.	Griffith, Michael	Nickerson, Uriah C.	Thompson, Samuel
Brown, Albert	Griswold, Everett	Nicholas, Joseph	Tippetts, Wm. P.
Brown, Harry	Groves, Elisha	Noble, Joseph B.	Thomas, Tinney
Brown, Samuel	Hancock, Joseph	North, U.	Tubbs, Nelson
Brownell, John	Hancock, Levi W.	Orton, Roger	Waghn, Joel
Buchanan, Peter	Harmon, Joseph	Parker, John D.	Warner, Salmon
Burdick, Alden	Herriman, Henry	Parrish, Warren	Weden, Wm.
Burgess, Harrison	Harris, Martin	Patten, David W.	Wells, Elias
Byur, David	Hartshorn, Joseph	Pratt, Orson	Whitesides, Alex.
Cahoon, Wm. F.	Hayes, Thos.	Pratt, Parley P.	Whitlock, Andrew
Carpenter, John	Higgins, Nelson	Pratt, Wm. D.	Wight, Lyman
Carter, John S.	Hitchcock, Seth	Rich, Chas. C.	Wilcox, Eber
Cathcart, Daniel	Hogers, Amos	Rich, Leonard	Wilkinson, Sylv. B.
Champlin, Alonzo	Holbrook, Chandler	Richardson, Darwin	Williams, Fredk. G.
Chapman, Jacob	Holbrook, Joseph	Riggs, Burr	Winchester, Alanzo
Cherry, Wm.	Holmes, Milton	Riggs, Harpin	Winchester, Benj.
Chidester, John M.	Houghton, Osmon	Riggs, Nathaniel	Winchester, S., capt.
Childs, Alden	Hubbard, Marshal	Riley, Milcher	Winegar, Alvin
Childs, Nathaniel	Humphrey, Solomon	Ripley, Alanson	Winegars, Samue
Childs, Stephen	Huntsman, Joseph	Robbins, Lewis	Winter, Hiram
Colborn, Thos.	Hustin, John	Rudd, Erastus	Wissmiller, Henry
Colby, Alanson	Hutchins, Elias	Sagers, Wm. Henry	Woodruff, Wilford
Cole, Zera S.	Hyde, Heman T.	Salisbury, Jenkins	Young, Brigham
Coltrin, Zebedee	Hyde, Orson	Sherman, Henry	Young, Joseph
Coon, Libeus T.	Ingalls, Warren S.	Sherman, Lyman	— (unknown)
Cowan, Horace	Ivie, Edward	Shibley, Henry	
Curtis, Lyman	Ivie, James R.		
Curtis, Mecham	Ivie, John A.		
Denton, Solomon W.	Ivie, Wm. S.		
Doff, Peter	Jessop, Wm.		
Dort, David D.	Johnson, Luke S.		
Duncan, John	Johnson, Lyman E.		
Dunn, James	Johnson, Noah		
Duzette, Philemon	Johnson, Seth		
Elleman, Philip	Jones, Isaac		

WOMEN WHO WENT UP IN ZION'S CAMP.

Alvord, Charlotte, from Michigan.
 Chidester, Mrs., wife of John M. Chidester.
 Curtis, Sophronia.
 Drake, Diana.
 Gates, Mary Snow, wife of Jacob Gates.
 Holbrook, Eunice, wife of Chandler Holbrook.
 Holbrook, Nancy L., wife of Joseph Holbrook.
 Houghton, Mrs., wife of Osmon Houghton.
 Parrish, Betsey, wife of Warren Parrish.
 Ripley, Mrs., wife of Alanson Ripley.
 There were also a few children in the Camp, among whom were Diana, daughter of Chandler Holbrook; Sarah Lucetta and Charlotte, daughters of Joseph Holbrook; and a daughter of Alvin Winegar.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

"What thou seest, write in a book." REV. 1, 11.

Nos. 9-12.

DECEMBER, 1889.

VOL. VIII.

CHURCH ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

A

Aalborg, a city of 20,000 inhabitants, in the province of Jylland, Denmark, is noted as the place where the second branch of the Church in Scandinavia was organized Nov. 8, 1850, by Elder George P. Dykes, with 8 members, all of whom had been baptized by Elder Dykes Oct. 27, 1850. From A. missionaries were sent into all the surrounding country, where a number of other branches were established; and when a conference was organized, A. became its headquarters, and the A. branch was for many years one of the most flourishing branches in Scandinavia. In 1851 and 1852 the Saints in A. were subject to much persecution and mobbing; upon one occasion their meeting hall was almost destroyed, and several persons ill-treated by the mob. Nearly all the windows on the private dwellings of the Saints were broken the following night. A. is yet the headquarters of one of the most important conferences of the Scandinavian Mission. See pages 159, 160, 191.

Aarhus, the largest city in the province of Jylland, Denmark (pop. 30,000), has since 1857 been the headquarters of the A. Conference, one of the most flourishing conferences of the Scandinavian Mission. A great number of people have been baptized in the city and surroundings.—191.

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Utah) and Levi Moffit, who built a grist-mill there in 1835, the first water-power flouring mill ever built in the State of Iowa. There were at that time only a very few scattered settlers in that part of the country; Burlington consisted of only a few cabins and was known as Flint Hills. The Indians roamed all over the country but were quite friendly. In the fall of 1835 the town site of A. was surveyed by Levi Moffit and Frederick Kesler, without the use of surveying instruments, the north star being the only guide in laying off the streets running north and south, and Mr. Kesler's carpenter's square being the only instrument used in laying off the cross streets. In 1839 Elder Lyman Wight, who had escaped from Missouri a short time previous, visited A., held several meetings there, made a number of converts and finally located his family there. Among the number baptized was Frederick Kesler. In 1840 several families of the Saints who had been expelled from Missouri settled at A., and subsequently the number of inhabitants was considerably increased by the arrival of immigrants from several parts of the Union and great Britain. The original town was on the north side of Skunk River, and consisted in 1840 of two stores, a blacksmith shop and a few private dwellings, but when the Saints began to locate there, they had a new town site surveyed on the south side of the river, in what is now Denmark Township, Lee County, Iowa, where most of them built small houses. As in other places, the jealousy and envy of the non-Mormon settlers were aroused and persecutions ensued. On one occasion, in January, 1841, there was considerable disturbance at an evening meeting held at A., at which Hyrum Smith was present. During the night some persons, more wicked than the rest, entered a stable and cut off the tails, manes and one ear of two horses belonging to Joseph the Prophet, and otherwise maimed the animals. The following morning, Hyrum, aided by Frederick Kesler, returned to Nauvoo, having to travel a round-about-road in order to escape mob violence. Notwithstanding the persecutions, the Saints continued to increase in number, and at a conference held at A. April 1, 1843, 84 members in good standing were reported in the A. branch of the Church, besides 12 others who joined on that day. On the same occasion James Brown was appointed to preside over the branch, and seven Elders, two Priests, one Teacher and one Deacon

were also ordained; among the Elders was an Indian of the Delaware tribe. The branch was continued until 1844, after the death of the Prophet, when President Young advised the Saints to remove to Nauvoo, which they did (excepting a few who were about to apostatize), going down Skunk River and the Mississippi on a flat boat which was built for the purpose by Frederick Kesler. This boat was 40 feet long and 10 feet wide. Since the Saints left, A. has been a place of no importance. The township of which the village forms a part had 564 inhabitants in 1880.—509.

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- Boggs, Lilburn W., governor of Missouri from 1836-40, encourages the mob in Jackson County, 640, 642, 645; abuses the Saints, 645; is a traitor, 443; orders out the militia, 442, 605, 694, 696; is petitioned by the Saints, 604; issues his exterminating order, 6, 47, 703-707, 711; is visited by brethren, 718; denounced by Joseph Smith, 514; makes a demand on Joseph and others, 478, 479, 753; is shot and wounded, 497, 498, 499, 503, 505; accuses Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell of the crime, 761, 763; his conduct declared barbarous, 810; mentioned, 26, 46, 90, 118, 135, 238, 450, 452, 507, 669, 682, 710, 717, 733, 745, 827.
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- the Leon Branch of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Ry., in Sections 27 and 34, Garden Grove Twp., Decatur Co., Iowa. It is 130 miles in a straight line due east of Burlington, and 17 miles north of the Missouri State line. The way the Saints traveled in 1846 the distance from Nauvoo was 145 miles in a northwesterly direction. The village of G. G. had 549 inh. in 1880, and is situated in the midst of a fine farming district.—Pages 885-887, 908, 28, 154, 227.
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Lawrence, Sarah, a wife of Joseph, the Prophet, was a daughter of Edward and Margaret Lawrence, and a native of Canada, from whence she emigrated to Illinois in 1838, together with her parents. After the death of the Prophet, she came to Utah and was sealed to Pres. Heber C. Kimball, but she left him and afterwards married again and went to California, where she died.—223-234.

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Lee County, Iowa, consists of the extreme southeast portion of the State (Iowa), and is separated from Hancock County, Ill., by the Mississippi River, and from Missouri by the Des Moines River. The area is about 486 square miles and the present population 40,000. The surface of the country consists of undulating prairies and woodland, and the soil is very fertile and productive. From 1839 to 1846 Lee County was the home of large numbers of the Saints who lived chiefly in Montrose, Zarahemla, Ambrosia, Augusta and Keokuk. The population of the county in 1838 (the year before the Saints came) was 2,839, which in 1846 had increased to 12,860. At a conference held at Commerce, Hancock Co., Ill., Oct. 5, 1849, a Stake of Zion was organized in Iowa, with John Smith as President. (See *Church Chronology*, page 14.) In January, 1842, this was changed to a branch organization. Pages 464, 467, 481, 482, 489, 739, 747.

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 Lima, a town of about 300 inh., situated in Lima Township, Adams Co., Ill., just over the south line of Hancock County, and about 25 miles in a straight line due south of Nauvoo, is known in Church history as a neighborhood where quite a number of Saints resided in 1839 to 1846. Most of these, however, located northeast of L., in the extreme south end of Hancock County, in what is now Walker Township, on and around a townsite which they had surveyed and named Yelrome. This little town, situated two and a half miles northeast of L., was also known as Morley Town or Morley Settlement, in honor of Isaac Morley, the presiding Church officer residing there. Oct. 22, 1840, a Stake organization, embracing the Saints in L. and vicinity (both in Adams and Hancock Counties), was effected with Isaac Morley as President and Gardner Snow as Bishop. At a conference held at L., Oct. 23, 1842, the branch was represented to consist of 424 members. Yelrome or Morley Settlement was nearly all burnt out by the mobocrats in the fall of 1845, and the Saints were all compelled to leave the following year. In 1855 a new town called Tioga was laid out on the old townsite, which at present consists of an unimportant village.—480, 509, 801, 807, 813.
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- Levi Moffit and Dan Jones, and run by Dan Jones as a freight and passenger boat on the rivers above St. Louis, until September, 1843, when Joseph, the Prophet, became part owner. It was finally lost some time after the Saints left Illinois.—521, 527, 557.
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- A. Miller as Bishop. The organization only existed for a short time.—480.
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- Mount Pisgah, one of the temporary settlements founded by the Saints while journeying westward in 1846, is in Section 8, Jones Township, Union Co., Iowa, 6 miles northeast of Afton, the county seat, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Talmadge, the nearest railway station. It is 92 miles in a straight line east of the Missouri River at a point opposite Plattsmouth, Neb., 160 miles west of the Mississippi River, and about 30 miles in a straight line northwest of Garden Grove, but the way the Saints traveled, in 1846, the distance was considerable further. What is usually termed M. P. is a narrow ridge lying between Grand River and the Pisgah Creek; along this ridge the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City Ry. runs for some distance, passing within 20 rods of the cemetery, where between 200 and 300 Saints are resting, and where a stately monument was erected a few years ago by loving friends in Utah. The Mount Pisgah farm is now owned by Mr. A. C., White.—Pages 887, 888, 905-908, 28, 117, 134, 137, 142, 154, 155, 227, 240.
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- Naile, Conrad, 910, 933.
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- Nashville, a little town pleasantly situated on the Mississippi River, at the head of Des Moines Rapids, in Lee County, Iowa, 3 miles by rail southeast of Montrose and 8 miles north of Keokuk, was purchased by the Church, together with 20,000, acres of land adjoining it, June 24, 1839. Subsequently a townsite was surveyed by George W. Gee, and quite a number of Saints located on it. In August, 1841, 80 members of the Church were reported at N., and it continued to exist as a "Mormon" town until the general exodus in 1846. It has now about 100 inh.—71, 467, 481, 744, 748.
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Nauvoo House, the erection of which was commanded by revelation (Doc. & Cov., 124: 22-24, 60-64), was commenced in the spring of 1841, and by the time the Saints were driven away from Nauvoo in 1846 the walls were up above the windows of the second story. It was built in L form, presenting a front on two streets (south and west) of 120 feet each, 40 feet deep. It was to have been built principally of brick, three stories high, exclusive of the basement story. The estimated cost of erection was \$100,000. This house was to be built unto the name of the Lord. Individual stock was to range from \$50 to 1,500; no person being allowed to put in less than \$50 nor more than \$1,500. All who believed in the Book of Mormon and the revelations of God were permitted to hold stock. The location of the N. H. on the banks of the Mississippi River was most grand and beautiful, and the building itself, had it been completed within the time contemplated, would, for magnitude and splendor of workmanship, have stood unrivalled in the whole western country. When the Saints left Nauvoo in 1846, the unfinished building became the property of Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, and subsequently passed into the hands of her second husband, Mr. L. C. Bidamon, who about the year 1872 put part of it under roof and fitted it up for a hotel known as the Bidamon House.—480, 481, 447, 755, 8, 11, 27, 130, 501, 860.

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Nauvoo Legion, an independent body of militia, authorized by special acts passed by the Illinois legislature. The original act, passed in December, 1840, provided that the Nauvoo city council might organize the inhabitants of the city, subject to military duty under the laws of the State, into an independent body of militia, but a subsequent amendment to the charter extended the same privilege to any citizen of Hancock County who might desire to attach himself to the Legion. The officers of the Legion were commissioned by the governor. The members were required to perform the same amount of military duty as the regular State militia, and were

placed at the disposal of the mayor of the city and the governor of the State in executing the laws, etc. The first election of officers took place Feb. 4, 1841, and resulted in Joseph Smith being unanimously chosen lieutenant-general. There were only six companies when first organized, but in September following the number of men had increased to 1,490, and at the time of the Prophet's death, in 1844, the Legion numbered about 5,000 men. Brigham Young succeeded Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general, and the organization was kept up until the exodus in 1846. After their arrival in Great Salt Lake Valley (the Indians being hostile), the Saints found it necessary to organize a militia for self-defense. Consequently, on March 27, 1852, authorized by a territorial act previously passed, a partial reorganization of the Nauvoo Legion took place in Utah, and Daniel H. Wells was chosen lieutenant-general. The territory was also duly divided into military districts, and annual musters inaugurated. This organization rendered excellent service for many years, until J. Wilson Shaffer in September, 1870, issued his notorious proclamation forbidding all musters, drills or gatherings of the militia in Utah, except by his express orders. By an act of Congress (the so-called Edmunds-Tucker law), which became a law without the consent of the President, March 3, 1887, the N. L. ceased to exist.—480, 481, 494, 495, 513, 553, 562, 756, 756-760, 769, 773, 838, 48, 61, 100, 105, 115, 138, 164, 170, 189, 239, 242.

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 Co., Ill., about 22 miles southeast of Nau-
 voo, 8 miles southwest of La Harpe and
 9 miles northeast of Carthage, in the midst
 of a fine agricultural district. When the
 Saints settled in Illinois in 1839, quite a
 number of them located on or near Crook-
 ed Creek, in the eastern part of Hancock
 County, where a branch of the Church was
 soon organized, which in July, 1840, num-
 bered 112 members, who owned about
 2,525 acres of land. About that time a
 Stake of Zion, embracing all the Saints in
 that vicinity was organized, and in Sep-
 tember following (1840) a townsite was
 surveyed by William Wightman and
 others, and called Ramus, a Latin word,
 signifying a branch. Afterwards it was
 known as Macedonia. In 1841 there were
 about one hundred houses built or in
 course of erection at R., and the popula-
 tion increased rapidly until the new town
 contained about 500 people, nearly all
 Saints. Joseph, the Prophet, frequently
 visited R. and preached some of his best
 discourses there. In September, 1844, a
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Vose, Ruth D., a wife of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was a daughter of Mark and Sally Vose, b. at Watertown, Middlesex Co., Mass., Feb. 26, 1803; d. in Salt Lake City, Utah, Aug. 18, 1884. After the death of the Prophet she married Edward Sayers.—234.

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place was also divided into 22 Wards, each presided over by a Bishop. Some years after W. Q. was abandoned by the Saints, an attempt was made to build a city there; streets and lots were laid out, the city was called Florence, and for a brief period it was hoped by some that it would become a place of importance. Land went up in price, city lots were sold at fancy figures, and a number of good dwellings were erected; but the excitement soon died out and the place fell into decay. It being so near Omaha, that city has completely overshadowed Florence. There are yet a number of foundations of the houses erected by the Saints to be seen on the site of Florence. Also the "dug outs" in the side of the hill, and the lines of some of the streets and lots can easily be traced. For a number of years Florence was the outfitting place for the "Mormon" emigration that crossed the plains. See pages 11, 12, 28, 28, 51, 61, 73, 91, 101, 106, 115, 116, 119, 131, 134, 137, 155, 156, 168, 176, 184, 226, 239, 240, 257, 276, 304, 352, 357, 390, 391, 393-397, 900-903, 920, 932, 933, 938.

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ZARAHENLA, a town founded by the Saints in 1839-41, was situated on the uplands about a mile west of the Mississippi River, in Lee County, Iowa, or immediately back of Montrose and opposite Nauvoo, Ill. Besides purchasing the town of Nashville (see *Nashville*), with 20,000 acres of land adjoining it, in June, 1839, the Church through Bishop Vinson Knight, about the same time, bought an extensive tract of country, lying west of Montrose, on which Joseph, the Prophet, advised that a town should be built and called Zarahemla. (Page 467, 748.) In March, 1841, this was sanctioned by revelation. (Page 481.) Consequently a townsite was surveyed by George W. Gee, under the direction of the Prophet Joseph (page 55), and the Saints began to move in. At a general conference held at Commerce, Hancock Co., Ill., Oct. 5, 1839, it was voted that a branch of

the Church be organized in Iowa and that John Smith should preside over the same. Alanson Ripley was appointed Bishop, and Asabel Smith, John M. Burk, A. O. Smoot, Richard Howard, Willard Snow, Erastus Snow, David Pettegrew, Elijah Fordham, Edward Fisher, Elias Smith, John Patten and Stephen Chase chosen as members of the High Council. (Pages 750, 762.) Elder Ripley removed to Nauvoo and Elias Smith was ordained Bishop in his stead, July 18, 1840. At a conference held Aug. 7, 1841, at Z., 750 members of the Church were represented in Iowa, namely, 326 in Zarabemla, 67 in Siloam, 80 in Nashville, 109 in Ambrosia, 65 at the Mecham Settlement, 13 in Keokuk, 50 in Augusta, 11 in Van Buren Township and 30 on Chequest Creek, Van Buren County. It was intended that Z. should embrace Montrose and become a sister city to Nauvoo in size, but for some reason or other the town did not grow very fast. Only

about thirty small houses were built, and of these only one is standing at the present time. Since the Saints left in 1846, Z. has been lost sight of, and Montrose built up in its stead.

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ERRATA.

Page 15, 2nd column 11th line from top, instead of "Oct. 13, 1846," read "Oct. 12, 1845."

" 34, 2nd col., 14th line from top, instead of "May 3rd," read "May 4th."

" 48, 1st col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Moses," read "Robert."

" 70, 1st col., 3rd line from top, instead of "Wm.," read "Warren."

" 89, 1st col., 13th line from bottom, instead of "Jan. 27," read June 27."

" 115, 2nd col., 7th line from bottom, instead of "1848," read "1849."

" 135, 1st col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Oct.," read "September."

" 234, 1st col., 27th line from top, instead of "August," read "April."

" 236, 1st col., 8th line from top, instead of "August," read "April;" and in 9th and 11th lines, instead of "Elder Wm. Clayton," read "Patriarch Hyrum Smith."

" 259, 2nd col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Parowan," read "Pauvan."

" 333, 1st col., 16th line from top, instead of "South Cottonwood Creek," read "Little Cottonwood Creek."

" 335, 2nd col., 2nd line from top, instead of "southwest," read "southeast."

" 402, 2nd col., 13th line from top, omit the word "(Julia)."

" 410, 1st col., after the word "gratification" in the 11th line from bottom, insert the following: "On the 11th we left Westfield, * * and on the 12th arrived at Father Nickerson's." Then follows the next paragraph: "On the day following," etc.

" 413, 2nd line: The paragraph commencing with "Dec. 26, 1835," etc., should be inserted on page 427, 1st col., after the paragraph ending with "left me to-day."

" 503 and 504: The two paragraphs commencing with "We applied," and ending with "abusive treatment," has reference to an incident that happened years before the trip to Springfield took place.

" 511, 1st col., 5th line from bottom, instead of "7th chapter," read "6th chapter."

" 592, 1st col., 16th line from top, instead of "8th," read "6th."

" 869, 2nd col., 6th line from bottom, instead of "Raymond," read "Reynolds."

" 938, 1st col., 23th and 29th lines from bottom, between the words "nucleus for," and "gathering," insert "convenience of those brethren who were to start for the Far West as Pioneers to find a new."

Minor errors in the orthography of names, etc., are corrected in the index.

INFANCY OF THE CHURCH.

An Elaborate and Detailed Description of Persons, Places
and Incidents connected with the Early Rise and

Progress of the Church of Jesus Christ

of Latter-day Saints.

A SERIES OF LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Elders Andrew Jenson and Edward Stevenson.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

1889.

INFANCY OF THE CHURCH.

LETTER I.

Visit to Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri—The Josephites and Methodists—Prayer on the Temple Lot—Visit to the Big Mine—The Disastrous Plot of Notorious Highwaymen.

Brother Edward Partridge and Brother Almon were equally stripped and tarred and feathered, etc., we could hardly refrain from shedding tears, especially when we remembered that this bloody land of Zion is still in the

PREFACE.

In the months of September and October, 1888, Elder Joseph S. Black and the undersigned visited many places of historic interest to the Latter-day Saints. These points comprised the leading localities where some of the chief scenes connected with the early rise of the Church were enacted. While on this trip the observations taken were made the subjects of a lengthy correspondence to the *Deseret News*. We have been assured that these letters were well received by the community, and having been requested by a number of friends to compile them in the form of a pamphlet, we have done so, and in that shape respectfully present the correspondence in question, trusting that it will receive a kindly reception.

ANDREW JENSON,

EDWARD STEVENSON.

INFANCY OF THE CHURCH.

LETTER I.

Visit to Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri.—The Josephites and Hedrickites.
—Prayer on the Temple Lot.—Visit to the Big Blue.—The Dismal Fate of Notorious Mobocrats.

INDEPENDENCE, JACKSON CO., MO.,
September 10, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Having been blessed and set apart for a short mission to the United States in the interest of Church history, Elders Andrew Jenson, Edward Stevenson and Joseph S. Black left Salt Lake City, Utah, in the morning of the 6th inst., and, after a safe and pleasant journey over mountains and plains, we arrived in Kansas City, Missouri, in the evening of Sept. 8th, where we hired a room for a few days and put up for the night. The next morning, Sunday, Sept. 9, 1888, after calling upon the Lord in earnest prayer, asking him for his aid, protection and guidance in performing our mission successfully, we left our lodgings and went by rail to Independence, the place where we had arranged to commence our labors. We arrived there at 11 a. m. With solemn feelings we wended our way to the public square, where a magnificent court-house occupies the site of the small one that was known to the Saints in 1831-33. When we remembered that it was on that square the mob assembled with murderous intent and decided to drive the innocent Saints away from their homes and possessions, that

Bishop Edward Partridge and Brother Allen were cruelly stripped and tarred and feathered, etc., we could hardly refrain from shedding tears, especially when we remembered that this goodly land of Zion is still in the possession of our enemies.

From the court-house square we proceeded westward to the Temple lot, and arrived there just as the Hedrickites were emerging from their little meeting-house on the northeast corner of the lot, after holding religious service. We were introduced to their leading men and spent part of the day very pleasantly in conversing with them about the principles of the Gospel. They treated us with great kindness and finally invited us to preach in their little meeting-house the following Monday evening. In the afternoon we attended a Josephite prayer meeting, in which Elder Stevenson bore a powerful testimony of the divine mission of the Prophet Joseph, the gifts and blessings of the Gospel, etc.' The congregation listened with breathless attention, and after the meeting a number of people flocked around us anxious to enter into friendly conversation and hear of the progress we were making in the valleys of the mountains. They had rejoiced in the testimony borne, no doubt recognizing therein the voice of the true shepherd—something that had the right ring—calculated to gladden their hearts and prepare them to receive greater truths. The

Josephites number about 600 souls in Independence, and hold public meetings three times every Sunday in their brick meeting-house east of the court-house, but they are now erecting a fine church immediately north of and facing the Temple lot. We conversed with several of them who seemed to be wavering in their belief, apparently not satisfied with themselves nor their reorganized church, but showed great interest in the advanced principles we had to proclaim. Others showed that bitterness and spirit of antagonism characterizing their people generally. There are many good and honest persons in their midst who, no doubt, in due time will see the error of their way and fall in line with the true Priesthood of God now upon the earth. After conversing with members of the Josephite and Hedrickite factions until after dark and making, we think, a good and lasting impression upon them—for they followed us wherever we went and were unwilling to part with us—we proceeded to the Temple lot, selected a suitable place in the tall grass, and there, while stillness reigned on this sacred spot and surroundings, we bowed the knee and prayed earnestly for the redemption of Zion, for the increased power of the Priesthood of God upon the earth, for our own success, for our families that we had left at home, etc. Our hearts were filled with joy and the inspiration of heaven seemed to rest upon us, until we felt to prophesy in the name of the Lord that, not many years hence, the way shall be opened for the return of the Saints to this good and holy land, where once stood the Garden of Eden, where the great Prophet of the nineteenth century com-

muned with Jehovah, where the New Jerusalem shall be built and a Temple reared to the name of the Most High in this generation.

We prayed: "O Lord, remember thy words, and let not Zion suffer forever. Hasten her redemption, and let thy name be glorified in the victory of truth and righteousness over sin and iniquity. Confound the enemies of thy people and let Zion be free." After prayer we returned to our quarters in Kansas City, well satisfied with our first visit to Independence.

On the morning of Monday, 10th, we took a 15th Street cable car to the outskirts of the city, from where we walked in a southeasterly direction to the Big Blue. The reader will remember that it was on this stream the Colesville branch and other Saints located in 1831, and that on the 2nd of August of the year mentioned Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and eleven other men, in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel, carried and placed in position the first log for a house as a commencement for the building of Zion in this dispensation. The Big Blue is quite a large but sluggish stream which rises in Johnson County, Kansas, enters Jackson County, Missouri, from the west and then changes its course northward winding through the fields and farms about half way between Kansas City and Independence centres. In going up the hill traveling east, after having crossed the bridge over the Big Blue on the Westport and Independence road (a few hundred feet north of where the ferry over the Big Blue, mentioned in Church history, once was), we turned aside to an old farm house, where we happened on an old Missouri mobo-

crat, who boasted of having been an enemy to the "Mormons" for over fifty years. Says he, "I was but a boy when the 'Mormons' were expelled from Jackson County, but, by G—d, I was old enough to shoulder a gun and help drive them out."

We asked him what the "Mormons" had done to the old settlers which merited so brutal a treatment, and especially wanted him to tell us his own personal experience with them. "O," says he, "they did not molest me, for I was so young, but they did others." He then related how one of the Saints claimed to have received a revelation authorizing him to steal another man's cow, and that the Missourian thus imposed upon retaliated by killing the "Mormon," and this was the commencement of the hostilities between the Saints and the Missourians in Jackson County. Of course our knowledge of the true history of the affair prevented us from accepting the statement as true. We did not, however, consider it wise to enter into any argument with him, but proceeded to ask him other questions.

He then informed us that old Col. Pitcher, who took an active part against the Saints in 1833, died about a year ago as a pauper. Not only did he die poor, but during his last days he was shunned and deserted by all. Even his own children neglected to care for him. It went so far that some of the neighbors proposed to take up a subscription in order to raise sufficient means to hire a negro from Kansas City to wait on him until he died; but before the darkey came he breathed his last in the midst of filth and misery. He was once a wealthy man, but during the late civil war his

property was burned by the enemy and he reduced to poverty. Thus he seemed to have received his just due for the cruel part he took in mobbing the Saints and burning their houses in 1833.

It may be proper to state here that nearly every house on both sides of the Big Blue—the very section of country where about 200 houses belonging to the Saints were burned in the beginning of 1834—were destroyed during the guerrilla and bushwacker's campaign of terror in the time of the late civil war. It was a war between neighbors and neighborhoods, and the whole section of country was laid waste, so Mr. Mason informed us. His own house was burned with the rest.

In answer to our inquiry he also told us that Moses Wilson, the old mobocrat general, notoriously known in the Missouri persecutions, died many years ago in Texas as a drunkard, gambler and genuine vagabond, despised by all who knew him.

"What became of Samuel C. Owens who had so narrow an escape from drowning in the Missouri River while fighting the 'Mormons' in 1834," we asked. "Sam. Owens," replied Mr. Mason, "why, he was the only man killed in the battle with the Mexicans near the city of Chihuahua in 1846. He had just received bad news from home, informing him that his son-in-law had committed the crime of murder, and Mr. Owens felt so bad about it, that he immediately filled himself with brandy, plunged heedlessly into a hand-to-hand conflict with the Mexicans, during which he was killed, according to his own wish; for he said before starting, that he wanted to go to hell at once, knowing, as he did, that he

would have to go there some day anyway." Such was the fate of this old mobocrat, who persecuted the Saints so unmercifully during the Jackson and Clay County troubles.

Mr. Mason, our informant, lives on a farm which once belonged to the Saints. He is seventy-one years of age, and although he was bitter against the Saints, he seemed pleased with being able to point out to us the various bends on the Big Blue, where the humble log cabins of the Saints once stood. At several points there are still remnants to be found of the chimneys and foundations, but not a single house is known to be in existence. The residence of Brother Joshua Lewis, in which the Church held its fifth General Conference, Aug. 4, 1831, crumbled to pieces years ago. That was one of the few buildings not burned by the mob at the time of the exodus, but it was partly torn down.

Mr. Mason also told us where the skirmish took place between the Saints and the mob, Nov. 4, 1833, when Andrew Barber and two of the mob were killed.

In alluding to himself the old man, whom we considered a fair sample of many of those who drove the Saints out of Jackson County in 1833, informed us that he had no education. "I can't read a word," said he, "I only went to school three weeks in my life, during which time I got nine lickings and quit."

After we left Mr. Mason remarked to a neighbor: "They (meaning your correspondants) asked me about these men (alluding to the mobbers), and as I did not want to lie to them I told them the truth. These strangers, even if they were d—d Mormons, possessed one re-

deeming quality—they were Democrats." On our merits as Democrats he gave us all the buttermilk we could drink and wished us success.

From Mr. Mason's house we continued our journey to the house of Geo. P. Frisbey, a member of the Hedrickite faction, where these lines are penned for the *Deseret News*.

We have an appointment to preach on the Temple Block in Independence this evening. More anon.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 2.

Meeting on the Temple Lot.—Scenes, Locations and Circumstances Connected with Former Times.

INDEPENDENCE, JACKSON CO., MO.,
September 11, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Last evening we were taken in a conveyance, by our friend, Elder George P. Frisbey, of the Hedrickite Church, to fill our appointment in their meeting-house on the Temple lot. Our journey was over rolling land, with fields and forests intermingled, forming a picture worthy of Zion's borders, on which we truly were. Farms containing hundreds of acres of beautiful land, the homes of the Saints more than half a century ago, were pointed out to us; also the residence of the late Col. Pitcher, standing on a hill about four miles southwest of Independence, on the Westport and Independence Road, where the colonel resided for 50 years on a beautiful plantation which subsequently passed away from him. We also learned the

fate of another notorious and leading mobocrat, Mr. A. E. Hickman, known as Captain Hickman, once a government surveyor, who took an active part in driving the Saints from their homes in 1833. His possessions were pointed out, and his wealth boasted of as that of a possessor of broad fields. "But," said our informant, "he died in that little cabin on yonder hill in 1882, in the midst of grief and poverty."

Arriving at Independence about dusk we found a good number of people gathered on the Temple lot, and when we opened our meeting at 7:30 o'clock p. m. many were unable to gain admittance. After singing, and prayer by Elder Jenson, Edward Stevenson preached 50 minutes on the fulfilment of prophecy, taking the 2nd chapter of Isaiah and a passage from Zachariah as texts. He showed that the Saints in the mountains continued to gather and build up Zion, and had no need of reorganizing, and that the schismatics such as Lawites, Strangites, Rigdonites, etc., die out and disappear. He predicted the same thing regarding all those who depart from the true and only Gospel. He was followed by Elder Joseph S. Black, who occupied 10 minutes, speaking of the present condition of the Saints in Utah, and by Andrew Jenson who spoke 30 minutes on matters pertaining to the early history of the Latter-day Saints. The spirit of God rested upon us and through His grace we were enabled to reach the hearts of our hearers, who listened very attentively to all that was said.

We spent the night at the Pacific Hotel, kept by J. D. Barnhart, a German, and a silent partner by the name of J. T. Clark, an old time

Latter-day Saint, of Kirtland, Ohio, who years ago joined the "Reorganization" or "Josephites," and soon after, not being satisfied with their authority, left them, and joined the Hedrickites, and lastly has joined the Whitmerites. He was one of last night's attendants, and said that our meeting had the good old ring of the Gospel bell of fifty years ago, and that many others of those present thought the same.

At the time of the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph, the Saints were being gathered and were building a Temple, baptizing for the dead, etc., which work unceasingly has been kept up by those who under the leadership of the Twelve came to the Rocky Mountains notwithstanding the various factions which have separated themselves from the true Gospel tree. The writer (Elder Stevenson) heard the Prophet say on a stand at the east end of the Nauvoo Temple, that the time was coming when there would be many dissensions from the Church. "But," said he, "I now see the time which I have long desired to see. Let me go where I may, the Gospel tree is planted never more to be rooted up, for there are those present who are prepared to carry on the Gospel, whatever may become of me." He also said: "I will give you a key by which you may never be deceived, if you will observe these facts: Where the true Church is, there will always be a majority of the Saints, and the records and history of the Church also."

We believe that there are many who will eventually discover their mistake and return to the true fold, after judgments and scourges shall have passed through the land. We feel sorrowful for many who appear

to be wavering and not fully satisfied with their faith and standing, for in our communications with many members of schismatic factions, some seemed to possess a desire to be Saints and be saved. We asked the Hedrickites if they had any Twelve Apostles or Seventies' quorums; and also put the same question to the Whitmerites. Both replied: "No; there are not enough members yet to fully organize." There are only about 50 members in each party and those are scattered throughout the country. We suggested that a few of those small factions join together until they become of sufficient strength to fully organize.

Real estate was boomed some time ago in the vicinity of Kansas City and Independence until land was considered worth from \$1,000 to \$5,000 per acre, and several new towns were laid out on the "Dummy line" between the two places. Both towns and boom have since partly died on the hands of speculators, and are awaiting an exposition car or something else to "boom her up" again. The Temple lot is still in dispute between the Josephites and Hedrickites, but the latter have possession and their meeting-house is within the enclosure. They have paid up all taxes to date. We saw an abstract of title, costing over \$50, to not only the small portion of the real Temple lot now under fence, but to the whole piece of land (consisting of 63 acres) purchased for the Church by the late Bishop Edward Partridge in 1831. The abstract showed a broken chain of title, there being nothing in the county records to show any administration on the Partridge estate, but the Hedrickites have, no doubt, as good a title to

that small parcel they hold as is obtainable now.

Having accomplished sufficient to satisfy our desires in this waste place and centre Stake of Zion, we again repaired to the centre of the Temple lot and in the midst of the shade trees and blue grass, which is mowed by the Hedrickites occasionally, we humbly bowed ourselves before the Lord and thanked Him for His favors and mercy in opening our way so very favorably to bear our testimony in those meetings already mentioned, and for the history of past events with which we had been furnished.

EDWARD STEVENSON,
ANDREW JENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 3.

Memoir of John E. Page.—Description of Jackson County, Missouri.—The Redemption of Zion.

KANSAS CITY, JACKSON CO., MO.,
September 12, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Yesterday, before leaving Independence, we visited the widow of the late John E. Page. She lives near the Temple lot, and is about 70 years old. From her and her son, Justin E. Page, who owns a blacksmith shop immediately south of and facing the Temple lot, we learned that the late John E. Page, after absenting himself from the Church, located in De Kalb County, Illinois, where he engaged in farming. Later he removed to a point about six miles north of Sycamore, De Kalb County, where he died in the fall of 1867, being then 68 years and 8 months old. According to his own request, he was buried under an ash

tree on his farm. His son declared that he died in full faith in the divinity of the Book of Mormon and the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith. After his death the widow removed with the children to De Kalb, and later located at Independence, Missouri. Besides the two sons who reside in the latter place, a daughter of John E. Page now lives in Tennessee, and a third son resides in Kansas.

As Jackson County, the land of Zion, where the Saints in the near future expect to build a temple to the name of the Most High, and also a holy city, in which the Lamb of God shall dwell in peace, we have taken pains to collect the following from various sources:

JACKSON COUNTY,

In the State of Missouri, is located in north latitude 39 degrees. Its northwestern corner commences at the confluence of the Kansas River with the waters of the Missouri, the latter of which for a distance of forty miles of its meanderings separate it from Clay and Ray Counties upon the north. Upon a straight line the distance is 27 miles from the eastern to the western boundary. The length of the eastern boundary north and south is 23 miles, and the extreme length from its most northern point upon the Missouri River to its southern line is 27 miles. It is bounded on the east by Lafayette and Johnson Counties, south by Cass County, and west by the Kansas State line, having an area of 385,404 acres.

Jackson County presents some physical features found in no other county in Missouri. There are three elevations or ridges passing through it from the south bearing northward 30 degrees east. The water drained from these ridges feed streams upon the east and west sides; those upon the east side of the western ridge become tributaries to the Big Blue, which discharges its waters into the Missouri six miles below the mouth of the Kansas River, and those upon the western slope empty into the Kansas. The waters drained from the central ridge form streams upon the west side that also become tributaries to the Big Blue, and those drained from the eastern slope

empty into the Little Blue, which forms the eastern boundary of the second ridge. The waters of the Little Blue are discharged into the Missouri at a point thirty miles by the river line east of the mouth of the Kansas. Waters drained from the third or east ridge form streams that also become tributaries of the Little Blue, flowing west, and those from the east side flow into the Snia-bar, which discharges its waters into the Missouri about three miles east of the northeast corner of the county. These principal streams having their sources in the country south and west of Jackson County are made up of springs that are found upon the uplands in great number. Along the streams are found bodies of excellent timber. The three elevations mentioned passing through the county north and south terminate abruptly on the Missouri River, the middle one having an elevation of 354 feet above high water mark at a point four miles north of Independence. The western ridge terminates at Kansas City at an elevation of 292 feet above high water mark, and the eastern ridge breaks off near the northeast corner of the county. These three elevations, running nearly parallel with each other, the eastern and western approaching the central, finally unite or consolidate in one general elevation about five miles south and five miles east of the southwest corner of the county, forming a topographical elevation, the general direction of which is southwest, and may be followed by the continued elevation to the summit of Pike's Peak, in Colorado, without crossing a single stream of water.

These elevations, with their perfect drainage, present an exceedingly pure atmosphere throughout the entire county, thus precluding the possibility of malaria to exist to any great extent. Hence, it is one of the most healthy and desirable places of Missouri from a sanitary standpoint.

It can be safely estimated that 300,000 acres of the entire area are susceptible of high cultivation for agricultural purposes. The soil is very rich and fertile, consisting of a rich black loam, in places intermingled with sand and clay, and is from two to ten feet in depth, with a subsoil of a fine quality of clay, and the river bottoms are susceptible of yielding a larger crop per acre than any other lands northwest of the Mississippi River. The lands upon which the huckleberry grows are regarded as being the richest and most productive. Wheat and Indian corn are raised in abundance. The wonderful blue grass grows spontaneously, and its beautiful carpet covers the whole

country, lending beauty to lawns and door-yards, and wealth to innumerable pasture lands. Under cultivation, or in prepared ground, its spears grow to the enormous height of four feet, and its seed spikes stand firm and erect at the height of two to three feet. This grass excels all others as a pasture grass. The earliest in spring to attract the lowing herd, it is the last to succumb to the frosts and snows of winter, after having furnished good grazing all through the spring, summer and autumn months. Timothy, orchard grass and red clover also grow rapidly when cultivated.

Thus it will be seen that the country is especially adapted for stock-raising. Both climate and soil are favorable to the production of all the fruits and vegetables of the warm temperate climate; not only the hardy cereals, such as oats, barley, wheat, rye, buck-wheat, corn, etc., but also tobacco, cotton, flax, sweet potatoes and all other common vegetables; also apples, pears, apricots, persimmons, plums of many varieties, the luscious peach, the delicious grape and a great many kinds of berries.

Though the supply of timber useful for lumbering purposes is nearly exhausted, there are still luxuriant growths of hickory, some black walnut, a variety of oaks, plenty of elm, cherry, honey-locust, mulberry, basswood and box elder; huge sycamores and cottonwoods in the river bottoms; also hard and soft maple.

The county is well supplied with springs of living water gushing out upon every hill-side. Wells of from 10 to 50 feet deep give a supply of good limestone water. The clay, of which there is unlimited quantities, makes a fine quality of brick; and at no very great distance are stone quarries, which supply a good quality of light-colored sandstone, so that substantial building material may be said to be plentiful. Being located upon the highest elevation of land between the Rocky and Alleghany mountains, the air in Jackson County is pure, healthy and salubrious. The sky is generally clear; there is scarcely a day but some sunshine is seen, and snow in winter rarely lies on the ground over a week or ten days.

In 1880 the population of Jackson County, according to the U. S. census, was 82,325. With the rapid growth of Kansas City during the last few years, the county now undoubtedly has nearly 200,000 inhabitants.

[For further information about Jackson County and the persecutions of the Saints there, the reader is referred to the HISTORICAL RECORD, pages 625-648.]

There is at present about as much prospect for the Saints to return to Jackson County to possess it as there was anciently for the children of Israel to return to Jerusalem from their captivity in Babylon, after the seventy years predicted by the Prophets as the period of bondage were ended, when the wicked Belshazzar mocked the God of Israel by desecrating the holy vessels taken from the Temple in Jerusalem. The events of a single night at that time, however, so completely changed the condition of the children of Israel that that which the day before seemed an utter impossibility, now became comparatively easy, and the words of the Prophets were literally fulfilled; Israel did return to their own land. So also shall the words of the Lord be fulfilled in regard to the Latter-day Israel. Zion shall be redeemed as the Prophets have told, and the Saints occupy this land of their inheritance.

Later we will tell you something about the Hedrickites, the custodians of the Temple lot in Independence.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 4.

A Visit to Richmond.—The Whitmers and Whitmerites.—Manuscript of the Book of Mormon.—Testimonies of the Divine Authenticity of the Work.—Where the Prophet and Others were Imprisoned.

RICHMOND, RAY CO., Mo.,
September 13, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

At 9 o'clock yesterday morning we took the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railroad from Kansas City, and sped on our way on the south

side of the Missouri River, through timber land, on which the sturdy oak, hickory elm, black walnut and other kinds of trees are growing. We saw wagon loads of walnuts on the heavily laden trees. Many of the old-time cabins built of logs still remain on the poorly tilled fields, which were very prolific with weeds. Much of the tall but scattered corn was wonderfully clustered with vines, looking very much like hop fields. On inquiry we learned they were morning glory vines. Passing the old ferry, where the exiled Saints crossed the Mississippi River into Clay County in 1833, we stepped out on the platform to take a view of the long-to-be-remembered old ferry place. The train passed on to Sibley, where we crossed the muddy Missouri River on a first-class bridge and a lengthy trestle into Ray County, and viewed the extensive bottom land farms and fields.

At 11:30 a.m. we arrived at Lexington Junction, 42 miles from Kansas City, and 5 miles from Richmond. There being no train until 6 p.m. for Richmond, we concluded to make the journey on foot, which we did, and were delighted with our rambles in the woods.

In passing through the country on foot we stopped to converse with a number of the inhabitants, and learned from them many things of interest in regard to the country. This is truly a delightful land. Near the Missouri River it is quite heavily timbered, but as we recede from the river the openings and clearings become more extensive, and finally broad prairies enhance the landscape. Of the various sorts of timber growing on the north side of the river we noticed the oak, elm, ash,

walnut, sycamore, locust, tamarind and others, besides the pawpaw and numerous kinds of underwood and vines. Some of the farms are kept in a thrifty condition, while others are seemingly neglected, so that most healthy growths of weeds have got the best of the planted crops. Small grain does pretty well, but the soil seems to be particularly adapted for raising Indian corn, which in some instances yields about 100 bushels to the acre.

We also saw some of the finest milch cows we have ever beheld in our travels, the facilities for pasturage here being second to none in the United States.

Having arrived at Richmond we went directly to the residence of the late David Whitmer, and received a somewhat cool reception from his daughter, Mrs. Schweich, who keeps house for her brother David, at the old homestead. Elder Stevenson remarked that he found altogether a different influence in the house to that he had experienced on his former visits when David was alive, and the place has no longer any attractions.

We visited the new cemetery, situated a short distance west of town where the mortal remains of the last witness of the Book of Mormon now slumbers. We also visited the old cemetery, about half a mile north of Richmond centre, where rest the remains of the senior Peter Whitmer (in whose house the Church was organized) and his wife, together with their son Jacob (one of the Eight Witnesses) and Oliver Cowdery. A fine marble tombstone designates the resting place of Jacob Whitmer, but the grave of Oliver is entirely hid among and overgrown with weeds

While we found the new cemetery in a first-class condition, we found the old one entirely neglected, and marble monuments, headstones and fences scattered promiscuously on the ground as the cyclone left it ten years ago. Standing over the graves of Oliver and Jacob, we instinctively uncovered our heads, uttered a silent prayer and passed on with heavy hearts. How we should have appreciated a short interview with him who was blessed with the ministration of angels, the Savior, Moses, Elijah the Prophet, and other holy beings!

Toward evening we went on foot, about one and a half miles south of Richmond, to the house of John C. Whitmer, the only living son of Jacob Whitmer. He is the presiding Elder of the so-called Whitmerites, and is a respectable farmer, fifty-three years of age. He received us kindly and gave us some information that we highly appreciated in regard to the Eight Witnesses of the Book of Mormon and others. His uncles Christian and Peter Whitmer both died as faithful Elders in the Church in Clay County, Mo., the first-named Nov. 27, 1835, and the latter Sept. 22, 1836. Both bore faithful and unflinching testimonies to the last of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Jacob Whitmer died in Richmond, April 21, 1856, aged 56 years, 2 months and 26 days. John Whitmer died in Far West, Caldwell County, Mo., in 1878; and Hiram Page died on a farm about fourteen miles west of Richmond, near the boundary line of Clay County, Missouri, August 12, 1852.

John C. Whitmer testified as follows concerning the witnesses:

"I was closely connected with Hiram Page in business transactions and other matters, he being married to my aunt. I knew him at all times and under all circumstances to be true to his testimony concerning the divinity of the Book of Mormon. I was also at the death bed of Oliver Cowdery in 1850, and I heard him speak to my uncle David (Whitmer) and say: 'Brother David, be faithful to our testimony to the Book of Mormon, for we know that it is of God and that it is verily true.' He then closed his eyes in death. My father, Jacob Whitmer, was always faithful and true to his testimony to the Book of Mormon, and confirmed it on his death bed. Of my uncle John (Whitmer) I will say that I was with him a short time before he died at Far West, Missouri, when he confirmed to me what he had done so many times previously that he knew the Book of Mormon was true. I was also with Uncle David (Whitmer), who died here in January last, and heard him bear his last testimony in the presence of many witnesses whom he had called together for the occasion. He solemnly declared that the record of the Nephites, as he always called the Book of Mormon, was of God, and his testimony concerning it true."

John C. Whitmer then gave us in substance the following particulars in regard to the church over which he presides:

He was baptized by his uncle, David Whitmer, Sept. 15, 1875, and by him also ordained an Elder Jan. 28, 1876, receiving instructions to go forth and preach the Gospel as it had been taught by Joseph, the Prophet, and organize a new church according to the original pattern, in which he (John C.) was to be the first Elder. In obedience to this he immediately commenced his labors and succeeded in baptizing the first three individuals on the following Feb. 17 (1876). Others followed, and soon the new church commenced to hold meetings and completed their organization as far as their numbers would permit them. They now claim to have about one hundred members, all told. Some of these reside in and around Richmond, others in Independence, Jackson County, while the remainder live in a more scattered condition in Iowa, Kansas, Illinois, Tennessee, California and other States. The few around Richmond and as many of the others who can conveniently come together hold meetings every third Sunday in a small school-house situated about a mile and a half south of Richmond

in the school district where John C. Whitmer, their president, resides. The Whitmerites, or as they call themselves the Church of Christ, believe only a part of the revelations given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, but they take the Book of Mormon and the New Testament as their standard and rule of faith. Anything that agrees with the teachings of these two books they accept, and everything that conflicts therewith they reject. They have no High Priests in their church as they do not believe in that order of the Priesthood, but they have a few Elders, Priests and Teachers. They have no Deacons, but believe in the order, and would also ordain Apostles and Seventies, if the number of their members would allow it, but there being so few of them they could not possibly find element enough to ordain Twelve Apostles, say nothing about seventy men wherewith to make a quorum of Seventies. Elder Stevenson suggested that the Whitmerites and Hedrickites unite, so as to make a stronger body; whereupon Mr. Whitmer said he expected to visit Independence in a few weeks, when he hoped to be able to baptize all the Hedrickites into his church.

This morning we visited a number of old settlers trying to gather information in regard to circumstances transpiring fifty years ago. We visited the site of the old jail where Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps and others were imprisoned from November, 1838, to May, 1839. An old resident told us that he remembered many years afterwards seeing the name of P. P. Pratt on the ceiling of the jail, which was finally torn down and the site is now occupied by a large wagon repairing and blacksmith shop owned by Messrs. Powell & Sons. On the identical spot where the jail stood is a well from which we drew and drank water in memory of the past. The jail site is a little more than half a block east of the northeast corner of the court-house square, on the north side of the street. We made several inquiries about the old log house, where Joseph the Prophet and fel-

low-prisoners were guarded during Judge Austin A. King's trial in November, 1838, and where Joseph rebuked the guard; but we were unable to find any who could give us the necessary information. One old settler, Mr. B. H. Quesenberry, who acted as county clerk of Ray County in 1838, told us that there were a number of old log houses on the north side of the court-house square at that time, and it was no doubt into one of these that the Prophet and his brethren were ushered on that memorable occasion.

This afternoon we visited Mrs Bisbee, a daughter of the late Jacob Whitmer, and Philander Page, a son of the late Hiram Page, and from them and documents in their possession we gained all the information desired in regard to the Eight Witnesses of the Book of Mormon. This evening we examined the manuscript of the Book of Mormon in the possession of David J. Whitmer, son of the late David Whitmer. We satisfied ourselves beyond a doubt that it was the copy from which the book was printed—a copy of the original manuscript afterwards deposited by Joseph in the foundation of the Nauvoo House. We discerned between at least three different handwritings, the most of it, however, being written by Oliver Cowdery, whose handwriting is well known. It is supposed that Emma Smith and perhaps Christian and Peter Whitmer wrote the balance. The signatures of the witnesses were all written by the same scribe, which is another proof that this is not the original manuscript on which each witness signed his own name. There were 464 closely-written pages, each sheet being written on both sides,

We have also learned that General John B. Clark, the notorious mobocrat, died as a drunkard in Fayette, Howard County, about the year 1880, forsaken by his political friends at least. The notorious Austin A. King also died years ago. He was taken sick very suddenly at St. Louis and died almost immediately. His remains were brought to Ray County for burial.

Richmond is a fine town of nearly 3,000 inhabitants. The court-house, around which the principal stores and business houses are clustered, is beautifully situated on the rising ground, while on another gently sloping hill a little southward, stands the Richmond College, said to be a first-class institution of learning. Two weekly newspapers, the *Democrat* and *Conservator*, are published. About seven hundred men are engaged in coal mining around Richmond, a number of profitable mines having been opened recently. During the present season about one hundred new residences have been erected.

We must not forget to state that Richmond was the home of Elder Stevenson a short time in 1835, it being then an unimportant village. Some of the scenes that he beheld in his boyhood days were so indelibly impressed that they recurred to his memory as fresh as if witnessed only yesterday. Two of them we will mention: One citizen, a hotel-keeper of that time, was about to make a sale of one of his slaves to a buyer from New Orleans. A price was agreed upon, but the mother, hearing of the proposed sale, stepped around and said: "Now Massa —, you knows dat child is yours as well as mine, and you promis' me you

neber sell him." After she had pleaded for some time, the sale was abandoned.

The other incident was a fight on the court-house square, which resulted in a dirk knife gash in the arm of one of the combatants. Bleeding and swearing he offered to bet one of his best negroes that he could whip his opponent in any way proposed. A better community, we trust, now inhabit this city, in this beautiful country.

We start for the Crooked River battle-ground to-morrow morning.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 5.

The Hedrickites.—A Detailed Account of the Origin and History of the Sect Which Holds Possession of the Temple Lot at Independence.

FAR WEST, CALDWELL Co., Mo.,
September 15, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Before leaving Independence we gathered considerable information in regard to the Hedrickites. We considered them worthy of this attention as they are the present custodians of the Temple lot, and because of the kind and honest spirit they manifested in our association with them. "We think more of you people in Utah than you are probably aware of," said one of their leading men, while conversing with us; "And we hope the time will come when we shall fully understand each other." They wanted it distinctly understood that they did not consider themselves dissenters from the Church organized in 1830, but as a branch thereof, notwithstanding their rejection of

certain principles taught by the Prophet Joseph. They also wished us to understand that they were not contending or quarreling with any one concerning matters of religion, but were always willing to receive superior knowledge and intelligence from those who possessed it. Said they: "If we find that you have more light than we have, we are willing to receive it." The future will prove whether their statement in this regard is correct or not. They don't believe in plural marriage, reject baptism for the dead and most of the revelations Joseph Smith received since 1834, at which time they believe he became a fallen prophet because of a few technical errors they think they have discovered in the revelations. They also reject a plurality of Gods and the doctrine that God was once a man like men are now, and that men become Gods by a system of exaltation. They believe it is right to pay tithing, but reject the doctrine as revealed through the Prophet, July 8, 1838. Neither do they accept the Book of Abraham, translated from the papyrus. Thus it will be seen that they have been left far behind, but notwithstanding this, our hearts were drawn toward them because of their apparent sincerity, and we earnestly hope they may yet receive understanding concerning the truths that now seem to be a mystery to them. To become a member of their church it is not required that the person be baptized, if he has previously received baptism by the hands of one having authority either in the "Utah Church," or with the Josephites, but if any one prefers baptism before joining them, he can have this desire gratified.

The history of the Hedrickites is briefly as follows: In the year 1851, Granville Hedrick (who had been a member of the true church for many years) and Daniel Judy had considerable conversation about the condition of the Church, and they finally made an agreement with each other that they would begin from that time to discharge their duties as Elders, having been duly ordained such at an early day. They accordingly began to preach the Gospel as they understood it and call on all who had formerly belonged to the Church to assist in promulgating the good work previously commenced by the Prophet Joseph. They began their labors in Taswell County, Illinois, and quite a number of people who once belonged to the Church were baptized by Hedrick and Judy, who also began holding regular meetings. Finally, in April, 1857, they organized themselves into what they styled a branch of the original Church organized April 6, 1830. They continued to work under this organization until July 19, 1863, when a conference was held by them in Livingston County, Illinois, on which occasion Granville Hedrick was elected President of the Church and was ordained by John E. Page, who had once been one of the Twelve Apostles, but had been disfellowshipped. Aug. 16, 1863, Mr. Hedrick received "his first revelation," which was endorsed by John E. Page, David Judy, Adna C. Haldeman and Jedediah Owen, who signed themselves apostles in the church, the three last named having been previously ordained apostles by John E. Page and Granville Hedrick. April 24, 1864, Mr. Hedrick received another revelation commanding the Saints to remove to Jack-

son County, Missouri, in 1867. It also predicted that war and famine should commence in the Northern States in 1871, and terrible bloodshed would continue until the nation (the United States) was overthrown and the liberties of the people taken away from them. This should terminate in 1878. In July, 1864, the first number of the *Truth Teller*, a monthly sixteen-page periodical, published in the interest of the new church, was issued at Bloomington, Illinois; G. Hedrick and A. C. Haldeman, editors. Twelve numbers of this paper were published at Bloomington, and two at Independence, Missouri, after which the publication was suspended for the want of patronage.

The main body of the Church remained in the vicinity of Bloomington, Illinois, until 1867, when a number of them removed to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, agreeable to the revelation. Prominent among those that went up on that occasion were Geo. P. Frisbey, John T. Clark, John Hedrick, Jedediah Owen, David Judy and Alma Owen. They came up with teams. Other members followed and they continued to arrive until the church in Jackson County numbered 100 members. In 1868, the brethren divided for the purpose of buying the Temple lot, and in order to do it quietly and avoid trouble it was bought in sections by different members; and when all had been obtained it was deeded to Granville Hedrick, trustee-in-trust for the church, and his successor in office. The very best lawyers were employed to examine the records and to obtain an abstract to prove an unbroken chain of title. The whole lot, consisting of about three acres, cost

them nearly \$1,500. It may here be stated that at that time the original purchase, consisting of 63 acres, including the Temple lot (bought for the Church by Bishop Edward Partridge in 1831) had been cut up into blocks and lots as an addition to the city of Independence and sold to different parties. Some of these small fractions had changed hands already several times, when the Hedrickites bought the three acres which they now hold.

After a while trouble and division began to manifest itself in the Hedrickite church, which, in consequence, was crippled considerably and the number of members reduced to such an extent that no regular meetings were held for several years except conference meetings on the 6th of April and 6th of October every season.

In 1871, David Judy and Jedediah Owen went on a mission to the Indian Territory, and built up quite a branch there, consisting of about fifty members. This is all the missionary labor ever performed by the Hedrickites and that little band has not since been visited by any other of their Elders from Independence; hence its condition is unknown.

Granville Hedrick died Aug. 22, 1881, and at a conference held July 22nd following, David Judy was elected his successor, both as president of the church and trustee-in-trust. During Mr. Judy's term of office a few new members were received and the old ones became more united.

April 14, 1886, David Judy died, and in October following Richard Hill, the present incumbent, was chosen president and trustee-in-trust for the Temple lot.

At a conference held April 6, 1887, the church decided to build a house of worship on the Temple lot. Richard Hill, A. Owen and George P. Frisbey were appointed a building committee. The house, a lumber building, 26 by 18 feet, was erected during the summer, and since that time regular meetings have been held therein.

The Hedrickite Church was more fully organized June 10, 1888, by electing a priest, a teacher and a deacon. M. Eaton was chosen Bishop April 4, 1871, but since his death they have had no Bishop. At the present time they number 46 members, and only 36 of those are known at head-quarters. Consequently, as they frankly acknowledged themselves, their limited number will not yet allow the calling of Apostles and Seventies. They once ordained a few apostles, as previously related, but never had a full quorum.

Some years ago the Josephites invited them to appoint a committee of three to meet with a similar committee in behalf of the former, for the purpose of adjusting the differences existing between the two factions in doctrinal matters. The two committees met and held a number of meetings, but could not agree. Failing in this attempt to win the Hedrickites over to their side, the Josephites (so we were informed) have recently given notice that they will enter suit against the Hedrickites for the possession of the Temple lot, but the latter say they are prepared for them, and that they will not find it so easy to get possession of the Temple lot in Independence, as they did the Kirtland Temple, in Ohio, a few years ago.

In conclusion we will say that

Richard Hill, the present leader of the Hedrickites, is a plain, unassuming man, a native of England, and a blacksmith by trade, born Aug. 19, 1827. He was baptized in England in 1847, emigrated to Wisconsin in 1849, and removed to Independence, Missouri, in 1868. He said he entertains the best of feelings toward the people of Utah.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK,

LETTER 6.

Famed Far West.—Description of the Crooked River Battle Ground.—Reflections on the Past at Far West.—Real Estate for Sale Cheap.

FAR WEST, CALDWELL CO., MO.,
September 15, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Having given you some jottings by the wayside up to the time of our visit in Richmond, Ray County, Mo., we will now give you a brief account of our movements since. We resumed our journey on the 14th inst., at 6:27 a. m., taking train on the St. Joseph, St. Louis and Santa Fe Railroad and traveled 20 miles to Lawson, north of Richmond, where we were compelled to draw on our already taxed patience, and await the tardy arrival of another railway coach, as a change of train was necessary to convey us to the Crooked River battle ground, or Bogart's battle field, by which title it is so readily known in these parts. We waited over two hours. However, we felt much better and not half so cross after a square breakfast. We proceeded to the station, and at 9:30 a. m. were delighted to hear the scream

of the locomotive and the call of "All aboard!" for Elmira, five miles northeast, where we arrived safely. Elmira is a new railway town, on the well-named Crooked River, two miles above the fated spot we have heard so much about.

During our 25 miles' ride to-day we have had a variety of scenery, and passed over sacred land, beautiful to behold, and very fertile. Why should it not be so, when we realize that we are in what was once Eden and its vicinity and surroundings? We are now on our way to visit the land where our father Adam dwelt, in Adam-ondi-Ahman, after he was driven out of the Garden of Eden, which is Jackson County, Missouri. Adam-ondi-Ahman is situated northeast about eighty miles from the Garden of Eden. Who is able to even imagine the depth of thought and pleasure it affords us to know that we are permitted and worthy to live in this momentous day of Gospel dispensation, a day in which God has fulfilled his promises as found recorded in our text, which was read by us on the Temple lot, in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. It was as follows:

"And another angel went out to meet him, and said unto him, Run, speak to this young man, saying, Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls, etc." (Zach. 2:4.)

The visitation of an angel has created much prejudice throughout the world, and we are about to visit some of the results and consequences of it.

Securing the services of a Mr. J. M. Trout as guide we at once started for the battle ground. From Elmira Mr. Trout led us through the woods, where we found many trees laden with nuts and wild fruits.

After wandering about in the timber considerably, we at last found the old Field ford, near which the famous battle between Bogart's mobocrats and our brethren was fought on the 25th of October, 1838. By this time we were somewhat hungry and weary, the heat being much more oppressive in this lower altitude than it is at the same degree of latitude in Utah, where we have the benefits of the rarified mountain air. Emerging from the woods into a clearing of about fifty acres we found ourselves near an old log house where we called for a drink. In response to this the good lady of the house, although seemingly poor, treated us to some excellent butter-milk and corn bread, which we ate while sitting on a log in front of the house and in full view of the battle ground. Crossing Crooked River, which at the present time is nearly dry at this point, two of our number dined with Mr. J. L. Thompson, who lives about half a mile from the ford, while Elder Jensen set out alone across the farms west of the stream to find an old resident by the name of Absalom McDonald, who is the present owner of the battle grounds. This gentleman, an old Missourian 72 years of age, readily consented to show us over the grounds. Also two of Mr. Thompson's sons, who were well acquainted with the place, and had years ago picked up a number of bullets there, volunteered their services.

The night before the battle, Samuel Bogart was camped at a point in the woods about 100 yards from the ford on the east side of the stream. The ford, now known as the McDonald ford, is used but a very little now; and although the old Far West

road, which crosses Crooked River at this point, can easily be traced through the timber, it has not been used as a highway for many years. The old battle ground is covered with brush and small timber. A great many of the large trees have recently been cut down by Mr. McDonald, but there are still two stately oak trees standing near the spot where Bogart was encamped. One of these is dead, but the other, a large burr-oak, in which a number of bullets fired during the battle were found, still stands in a thrifty condition. The bank, behind which the mobbers are supposed to have formed in line of battle, is now overgrown with brush. It runs parallel with the stream.

It was with solemn and peculiar feelings that we traced those grounds, especially as we continued up the old road to the rather steep hill where stood the picket guard, Mr. John Lochard, who killed Brother O'Banion. Mr. Absalom McDonald pointed out the very spot, saying that Mr. John Lochard told him he shot Mr. O'Banion just below this elevated and very slightly point. As the "Mormons" were going down the old road, only one of the two guards fired, when both ran for camp, about a quarter of a mile distant. Still further up the road, in an old field and on the top of the hill, stands yet the old historic building known to this day as the old Field residence. It is a double two-story house, 30 by 18 feet, built of hewed logs. It looks very lonely and in a state of decay. It has been abandoned for the past ten years, and with the surrounding fields looks forsaken. One of the Thompson boys who were with us said that he had killed three hedge-hogs recently in the old build-

ing. It was back of this old house where Captain "Fearnot" (David W. Patten) divided his forces into three divisions and marched on to the ford, where the conflict occurred, just as the day was dawning, the enemy thus having every advantage, as they were looking toward the light and had the bank to serve them as a breastwork; yet they were soon routed and plunged into the river, scattering in all directions.

Many are the stories related by the Missourians as to the cause of this conflict. But it is well authenticated that Mr. Bogart's company was burning "Mormon" houses, killing stock, and had already taken three prisoners, and that the Saints simply fought in self-defence. Such scenes are very unpleasant to contemplate and it is even not consoling to review the grounds.

Far West having been turned into a plowed field, there is no railroad communication to that point, much to our inconvenience. We therefore resolved to walk the distance, about sixteen miles, and in traveling through the country on foot, we were delighted with the rolling prairies mingled with beautiful timber land. On Prairie Ridge, in Caldwell County, an Ohio farmer (as well as many others on our way) beset us to purchase land and farms, taking us, as we supposed, for land speculators. We had offers of excellent land for from \$10 to \$50 per acre, all through Caldwell County. Our talkative Ohio man explained that he had 249½ acres mostly cultivated, with an excellent dwelling-house, barn, well of good water, live fences, etc., and indeed his place looked very tempting and desirable. "Well," said he, "\$38 per acre, or \$6,500 will

take it all." He was very anxious to sell.

After walking until quite late in the evening, we put up for the night with a farmer (Mr. Sprague), near the village of Mirabile, and this morning we continued to Far West, arriving here about 11 o'clock a. m.

We took dinner with Jacob D. Whitmer, who has the best farm and improvements, embracing the very best portion of old Far West, including the Temple block. He would like to sell out for \$50 per acre, and it is remarkable to see the spirit of selling out. The whole people, so far as we can learn, feel as though they have no desire to live in the country. Elder Stevenson pointed out a portion of the Whitmer field which his widowed mother was compelled to leave unsold; also some timber land on Goose Creek, within one mile of Far West, where General Lucas' mob camped 50 years ago. Many of those now in possession of the lands in Caldwell County would be puzzled to show a clear chain of title from the government. Perhaps this is one great cause for the mania of selling out this once very desirable land.

What a contrast in the price of real estate where the "Mormons" now reside, as compared with this Eden! One corner lot in Salt Lake City which has been transformed from a barren sage brush desert would sell for sufficient to purchase the whole of Far West city plot as it now stands—a city of weeds and grass.

Far West was laid out in 1836, and consisted of the southwest quarter of section 11, southeast quarter of section 10, northeast quarter of section 15 and northwest quarter of sec-

tion 14, all in township 56, range 29, containing 640 acres. The blocks were 396 feet square. There were four main streets, 132 feet wide; all other streets were 82½ feet in width. Six hundred and forty acres at Mr. Whitmer's highest figure, \$50 per acre, would amount to \$32,000. A certain party refused \$62,000 for his corner lot in Salt Lake City quite recently.

We dare say that a similar state of affairs exists at Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois.

It is a fact that wherever the "Mormons" go, even in the desert, a thousand miles out into the wilderness, as the ancient Prophets have foretold, they make the solitary place glad and the desert to blossom as the rose.

One old barn is all the building that remains of the original town of Far West, excepting a portion of Joseph Smith's old frame house which has been removed from its original foundation and rebuilt on the main road leading south. We crossed Goose Creek, one mile south of Far West. Shoal Creek is one mile north and both streams unite about three miles southeast of Far West. We found the Temple excavation west of Mr. Whitmer's house, tracing each corner stone distinctly except the northeast, which was rather difficult to find.

We sat upon the corner stone of the future Far West Temple, while we wrote in our journals and offered prayers. The Temple site embracing three acres is fenced in by itself.

While sitting on the southeast corner stone reflecting upon the scenes which took place on that memorable spot fifty years ago, it was moved.

seconded and carried unanimously by all present (the number being three Elders from Zion), that we continue to importune at the throne of grace that the Lord will remember the waste places of Zion and permit his Saints to erect the contemplated Temple at Far West in the near future, and also enable them to build a city and organize a Stake of Zion there. In walking over the excavation made for the Temple our minds naturally reverted back to July 3, 1837, when the ground was first broken, and to July 4, 1838 (a little more than fifty years ago), when the corner stones were laid with grand ceremonies under the direction of the Prophet Joseph. We also remembered the secret conference held on the Temple ground early on the morning of April 26, 1839, when our veteran President, Apostle Wilford Woodruff, and the late George A. Smith were ordained to their high and holy callings as Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In standing upon the promise a little south of the Temple overlooking the Goose Creek country southward, we imagined seeing the haughty General Samuel D. Lucas emerging from the timber with his mob-militia and form in line of battle before the now extinct town. We imagined seeing the Prophet of God with his brethren betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and hearing the oaths and cursings of the mobbers as the prisoners entered their ranks like lambs given away to be devoured by wolves. We walked to the brow of the hill where it is supposed the brethren formed in line of battle, endeavoring to make a brave stand in defending their homes, wives and children, their rights and sacred

honor, against a foe which outnumbered them ten to one. O, how lonesome we felt when we contemplated the sad scene. Then turning our faces northward, looking over what was once the public square of Far West, we thought of General Clark's infamous speech, of our brethren being compelled to stack their arms and become prisoners of war, and finally to see their town pillaged, their cattle shot down, and in some instances witness their wives and daughters defiled by demons in the shape of human beings. But the spirit whispered: "Be calm, 'vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'" And we felt to say that the wrongs of Far West are not forgotten by the Righteous Judge of all.

After dinner Mr. Jacob D. Whitmer, with a good fleet team, conveyed us seven miles to Kingston, the county seat, on our way to Haun's Mill.

We have been treated well and have met with kindness on every hand. Many Ohio people have built up comfortable homes in Caldwell County, and improved some parts of the county, but are not satisfied with their homes.

EDWARD STEVENSON,
ANDREW JENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 7.

Description of the Scene of the Haun's Mill Massacre.

GALLATIN, DAVIESS Co., Mo.,
September 16, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Leaving Far West, the Haun's Mill site was next on our traveling programme, and as the distance to it

was nearly twenty-two miles the way the roads now run, and there is no railway connection, we found it necessary yesterday to hire a team in Kingston, the county seat of Caldwell, and travel to the little village of Catawba, in Fairview Township, where we put up for the night.

Early this morning we set out on foot going in a northerly direction toward Shoal Creek. After walking a mile and a half, we turned aside to the house of Mr. James G. Mackey, who proved to be a good-hearted old Kentuckian, for as soon as we had asked him to direct us to the old Haun's Mill site, he kindly volunteered to accompany us to the spot. Says he: "Gentlemen, I believe in equal rights, I have been oppressed and imposed upon myself, and I know how it is, and I never did approve of the way your people were treated in this country." He took us through the woods and fields direct to the old mill-site, and where "Mormontown," as the Missourians called the now extinct town, was situated on the left bank or north side of Shoal Creek. This stream is the largest in Caldwell County, and is about three rods wide where the mill stood. At present there is but a very little water in it, but judging from the high water marks everywhere visible on its banks, and the narrow strip of low-lands on the north side, we should judge it capable of rising at least twenty feet during the rainy season. As a remnant of the old mill-dam there are still five large pieces of timber left in the middle of the creek. On the south bank the mill-dam originally rested upon a solid ledge of rock, which, of course, is still there. The mill stood on the opposite bank. We had no difficulty

in crossing the creek dry-shod, and after doing so we began to search for the old well into which the bodies of nineteen of our brethren were thrown, after being cruelly murdered by the mob on the day of the massacre, Oct. 30, 1838. By the assistance of a neighbor we soon found the place, which is designated by an old mill-stone, formerly belonging to Jacob Haun's mill. This was placed there last fall by a Mr. Fuller, of Adair County, Mo., a son of Josiah Fuller, one of the brethren killed at the massacre. This Mr. Fuller came to hunt his father's resting place, being accompanied by Mr. Charles R. Ross, of Cowgill, Caldwell County, who assisted in burying the bodies, or at least in filling up the well, some time after the massacre took place. Mr. Ross knew where the place was, but in order to be sure he and Mr. Fuller dug down a few feet until they became satisfied that it was the right spot. They then moved the old mill-stone, which had been lying for more than forty years near the old mill-site, and placed it edgewise on the memorable grave. We made a thorough survey of the premises and found the well to be just ninety-four yards northwest of the old mill-dam, and in the shade of four young elm trees, overgrown with wild grapevines. We also took particular notice of a high bank of yellow clay on the south side of the creek, immediately below the mill-site. Hence, if the few remaining timbers of the old dam in course of time should entirely disappear, this landmark could easily determine the exact location.

Mr. Mackey also showed us the spot where, at the time of the massacre, the old blacksmith shop stood.

in which so many of our brethren were butchered in the most merciless manner, and the place where Mr. Rogers literally cut to pieces Thomas McBride, the old Revolutionary soldier, with a corn-cutter. Our guides also pointed out the direction from which the mob came, where they first opened fire as they approached the little settlement from the north, and where the defenceless women and children fled up the opposite bank of the stream. "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."

The grounds on the north side of Shoal Creek where the settlement stood is now owned by Mr. John B. Lallen, who lives about a quarter of a mile northwest from the mill-site. The only building standing on or near the old town site is a small frame house, once owned by the above named Charles R. Ross, of Cowgill.

The region around Shoal Creek, where Haun's Mill stood, is much heavier timbered than it was fifty years ago, and a fine grove of locust trees now covers the site of old "Mormontown." A resident of Kingston, who yesterday pointed out to us a number of farms once owned by the Saints, said, that in going through Caldwell County, he could always distinguish the old "Mormon" homesteads from all others. We asked him to describe to us the difference between "Mormon" farms and others. "Well," said he, "nearly every one of the Mormons planted locust trees around their buildings which was something the Missourians never thought of doing, and these have now grown and spread, until there are locust groves nearly on

every farm where the Mormons resided."

Nearly all who participated in the massacre are now dead, or have moved away, so that their whereabouts, if alive, are not known. Some of the murderers have died in disgrace and shame, haunted by their consciences until their last hours. Others have boasted of their dastardly deeds, until they have been smitten with sickness and misery, in the midst of which they would curse God and die.

The notorious Col. Wm. O. Jennings, who commanded the mob at the massacre, was assassinated in Chillicothe, Livingston County, Mo., in the evening of Jan. 30, 1862, by an unknown person, who shot him on the street with a revolver or musket as the colonel was going home after dark. He died the next day in great agony. The shooting occurred on Calhoun Street, a little northwest of the present county jail in Chillicothe. Nehemiah Comstock, another leader of the mob who committed the murders, expired years ago in Livingston County as a good-for-nothing drunkard. His mother was also a drunkard and died a pauper and in the midst of misery in a Kentucky poor-house.

After offering our prayers by the rude tombstone on the ground of the massacre, and having made proper entries in our memoranda books, we left the fatal spot on Shoal Creek and traveled partly by team and partly on foot to Breckenridge, a fine little town in the northeast corner of Caldwell County. From there we took train to Chillicothe, Livingston County, and thence to Gallatin, Daviess County, where we arrived about sundown to-day. To-morrow

we expect to visit Adam-on-di-Ahman.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 8.

The Town of Gallatin, Daviess Co.—Visit to Adam-on-di-Ahman.—Remains of an Ancient Altar.

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN, DAVIESS CO.,
MISSOURI, Sept. 17, 1888.

President Franklin D. Richards:

Dear Brother:—Agreeable to a desire expressed by you on the day we were set apart for our mission that we would remember you when standing upon the altar at Adam-on-di-Ahman, we now comply with your request by writing you a few lines on the very spot you mentioned. So far our journey has been successful in every respect. We have visited Independence, Richmond, the Crooked River battle ground, Far West, the Haun's Mill site, and now this place, and have succeeded in gathering considerable information which we trust will be of benefit to the Saints of God in the future. It surely has been satisfactory to ourselves. We feel that the Lord has blessed us, and that He is pleased with our efforts, for a spirit of peace and happiness has rested upon us continually, and the way has been opened before us wherever we have visited to obtain the historical information we have desired, for which we glorify God. We find but a few of the old mobocrats of Missouri around here now. Many of them have died and others moved away. In Caldwell County we found this to be the case nearly all over, and the majority of the present population there hail

mainly from Ohio and Kentucky. Also this new class of settlers are almost universally possessed of the spirit of moving away; hence farms and lots are everywhere for sale. A number of people who perhaps at first have taken us for land speculators have repeatedly offered us their farms, and some of the very best homesteads in the country have been thus offered us very cheap. We have told all such that we are not ready to buy yet.

We arrived in Gallatin, Daviess County, last night and put up at a hotel. In the evening one of our number called on Major McGee, an old resident of Gallatin, who took part in the troubles with the Saints in 1838, and was taken prisoner by the "Mormons" at that time. He gave us some valuable information in regard to the past, and pointed out to us the identical spot where the house stood in which the election was held Aug. 6, 1838, and also where the fight took place between the mob and our brethren who on that memorable day wished to cast their votes as free American citizens. He said the town of Gallatin at that time contained only about four houses: now there is quite a respectable town of 1,500 inhabitants. The major also showed us where Jacob Stollings' old store stood before it was burned during the difficulties in October, 1838, and, upon inquiry, said the "Mormons," while keeping him (McGee) and a companion prisoner, treated them well. He said Joseph Smith was a fine man, physically and socially, and related quite an amusing incident about how a certain man who considered himself the champion of Daviess County was thrown by the Prophet three times in a wrest-

ling match. We asked him what in his opinion (looking back at this late day upon the scenes of fifty years ago) was the cause of the troubles between the Missourians and the "Mormons." He replied that he thought some of the Saints were to blame for teasing the other inhabitants with the doctrine that they (the Saints) were the rightful heirs to the whole country, because they were Saints of the Most High; but he knew of no horse-stealing or any kind of lawlessness being perpetrated by the "Mormons" prior to the time of the troubles of 1838. During the fracas, however, he said they burned nearly all the houses in the country belonging to the Missourians.

Altogether the major manifested a spirit of fairness, but of course leaned to the side of the Missourians, trying to justify them as much as possible in what they had done. Both Millport, three miles east, and Adam-ondi-Ahman, five miles northwest of Gallatin, are extinct, and the new settlers or the younger part of the population are entirely ignorant of such towns ever having existed, which we experienced by inquiring for the roads leading to them. Until we saw the major nobody could give us the least information about them.

We left our lodgings this morning and walked three miles to Grand River at a point due north of Gallatin. Finding no boat on the south side, one of us (Elder Jensen) waded the stream and brought a boat from the north side in which the other two crossed in safety.

We then crossed the Grand River bottom, passing through some very rich farms in which a splendid crop of Indian corn, melons, tomatoes and other vegetables were maturing. Af-

ter reaching the heights on the north we passed through a beautiful grove of timber, and finally reached Sarah A. McDonald's farm house, located on the old site of Adam-ondi-Ahman. This is, in fact, Lyman Wight's old house, somewhat renovated, but the same logs and part of the roof is still there. It is the only house on the old town-site which has changed somewhat in appearance during the past fifty years, because of the heavy growth of timber on what was formerly open prairie land. Nearly the entire length of the heights from the old Adam-ondi-Ahman hill eastward is a dense forest. We walked up the hill and soon found the remnants of an ancient altar on the top of what is supposed to be the highest point in the neighborhood. The McDonald's thought the top of the knoll was about 100 feet above Grand River. They also said that a number of people had visited the place during the last few years from sheer curiosity, wishing to see the spot where the "deluded Mormons" say Father Adam was buried. It may here be stated that the author of a history of Daviess County (published in 1882) among other trash which he dishes up about the "Mormons," states that Joseph Smith pointed out the Adam-ondi-Ahman hill as Adam's grave. We asked Mrs. McDonald if she believed Adam was buried there. She replied in the negative. "Neither do we believe it," said we, which seemed to astonish her. We then related our theory in regard to the place and asked her kindly to give future visitors the more correct information that we now gave her.

We have spent about three hours on the altar writing letters and making notes, and each of us have

prayed in turn, asking our heavenly Father to remember the waste places of Zion and cause the way to be opened for the building of the city of Adam-ondi-Ahman, that the Stake of Zion once organized here by the Prophet Joseph may be reorganized at some future day never more to become disorganized, and the Saints be permitted to possess the land forever in peace. We also remembered the Apostles and all the authorities of the Church in the mountains and prayed for the redemption of Zion, the downfall of Babylon, and that the Lord would hasten the day that Zion shall be free and her children enjoy their privileges and rights. We felt a heavenly influence resting upon us when we poured out our hearts before God, and we felt to thank Him for Prophets and Apostles, for the revelations given in these the latter days and the knowledge we had received through them, without which we would have been in ignorance in regard to what had transpired in the past in this holy land. Elder Stevenson who, when a youth, had visited the place several times, remembered the lay of the country perfectly well. In the time of the trouble, previous to the Saints being driven out, he had served in the ranks of the defenders, and now related to his companions a number of incidents transpiring in those days.

The mound or ruins of the ancient altar on the top of the Adam-ondi-Ahman hill measures 36 feet in diameter. A large number of rock fragments which no doubt were once a part of the altar, lies scattered all around. Immediately northwest of the mound stands a large hackberry tree, while a small ash and also

a black walnut shade it from the southeast. The western slope of this hill is quite rocky and a sort of prickly pear (similar to that found in the Rocky Mountains) grows among the rocks all the way from the McDonald fence to the top of the hill. We were informed that this prickly pear was not known to grow in any other part of Missouri. On both sides of the Grand River the land for several miles back is considerably broken and hilly. This is on account of the numerous small creeks emptying into Grand River having during the past centuries cut through the land, making steep slopes on either side; but further back from the river the traveler meets with gently rolling and very fertile prairies and timber land. In the valley of the Grand we have seen some of the finest corn fields we ever beheld. A large field belonging to the McDonald estate, we were informed, will yield all of one hundred bushels to the acre this season.

We start for Liberty to-morrow. From there we go to Kansas City, to continue our journey further east.

With kindest regards we remain your brethren and fellow-laborers,

ANDREW JENSON,

EDWARD STEVENSON,

JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 9.

Liberty Jail.—A Description of its Present Appearance.—Anecdotes of the Prophet.
—The Town of Liberty.

LIBERTY, CLAY CO., MO.,

September 18, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Leaving Adam-ondi-Ahman yesterday afternoon, we passed through the rich fields in the valley of the

Grand southward until we came to the river. After making an unsuccessful attempt to get into and cross with a leaky skiff, we found fording more safe and expedient, and although the water was somewhat deep, we reached the opposite shore in safety, and made our way through forests and fields back to Gallatin, where we arrived too late for the evening westbound train; consequently we spent another night in the chief town of Daviess County.

This morning early we took train for Cameron, a fine city in Clinton County, where we changed cars and continued our journey to Liberty, Clay County, arriving here at 11 a. m.

Without any difficulty we found the old jail where Joseph and his brethren were incarcerated from November, 1838, to April, 1839. By the assistance of a colored neighbor we soon succeeded in gaining an entrance to the interior of the half-tumble-down building, which we found very filthy indeed, filled with cobwebs and insects of numerous kinds which had their abode in the rotten timbers. Mr. Theodore Shively, who has charge of the property for the present owner (Mortimer Dearing, a wealthy banker of Kansas City), told us that the jail had not been opened and entered until to-day for many years. The smell from the decaying timber and dead insects was something sickening, and a couple of minutes' stay there made us wish for the fresh air outside. How the Prophet and his fellow-prisoners could endure life in such a hole for upwards of five months is more than we can comprehend. Of course it was not so filthy then, but the openings for ventilation and light seem to have been so

small that it cannot possibly have been a healthy abode for human beings at any time. We found the space inside to measure about 14½ feet from east to west, and 14 feet from north to south. From the basement floor to the ceiling we should judge it to be about 14 feet, two feet of which is under ground. The middle floor, which, while Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were there, divided the space into an upper and lower story, has been torn away, but we could see where it had been, and should say that the cell or lower room at that time measured 6½ feet, and the upper about 7 feet from floor to ceiling.

Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were confined in the upper room. The only openings giving light and ventilation to the cell part are two very small grated windows through the wall, one on the south and another on the north side. These openings, each of which has a heavy square iron bar running horizontally through the middle, are two feet wide and six inches high. Above them there are, near the roof, two larger openings, two feet in width and one foot in height, giving light and air to the upper story. In each of these two upper windows there are five square iron bars standing perpendicularly and fastened very securely in the timbers of the building. In fact the whole structure is a double building, the inner being built of hewn oak logs about a foot square and the outside of rock. The floor and ceiling are constructed of the same material, thus making a huge wooden box. The rock walls are two feet thick, and in building them a space of about one foot was left between the rock and timber,

which space was filled up with loose rock. Thus it will be seen that the prison walls are virtually four feet thick. Several loads of rock were also placed on top of the log ceiling, in order to make escape through the roof impossible. The outside dimensions of the building are: $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 22 feet wide and 12 feet high to the square. The door is on the east end, facing the street, and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and opens to what was the upper apartment. The west gable and most of the west wall have tumbled down, and also part of the north wall, thus leaving the timber or inside structure partly exposed. The east wall and gable are in a good state of preservation, and only one corner of the south wall is torn down. The building stands on the west side of what is known as Main Street, one-and-a-half blocks north of the northwest corner of the Liberty court-house square. It stands back from the street about 20 feet, on an uncultivated acre lot, which the owner has offered to sell for \$2,500, but no one seems to care for purchasing the property. To reach the building from the street we had to make a path through the thick growth of grass and weeds. Some of the latter, being more than six feet high, partly hid the building from view.

We also learned from official sources that the old jail continued to be used as a prison until about the year 1856, when it was deemed unsafe, and for a couple of years and more Clay County criminals were sent to Platte City, in the neighboring county on the west, for safe-keeping. In 1858 the present Liberty court-house was erected, with apartments for prisoners. For years

afterwards the old jail was utilized as an ice-house, but has not been used for any purpose whatever during the last decennium or more. The roof fell in years ago, and the rock wall is crumbling down more and more every season, so there is every reason to believe that in a few years, even if permitted to stand as it does now, there will be nothing but a heap of rocks and rotten timber left to designate the place where this historic building stood. We secured the aid of a photographer, who took a very good negative, showing the ruins as they stand at the present time.

Having made all the observations we wanted around the jail, we visited a number of the old settlers of the town, among whom were Col. Luke W. Burris, a county official, Ben. H. Stean, a bright business man, James H. Ford, an ex-official, Dr. Marsh and others. Mr. Ford is 72 years old, served as deputy sheriff of Clay County in 1838-39, and had Joseph Smith and fellow-prisoners under his charge during their incarceration, acting under the direction of Samuel Hadley, the county sheriff. On many occasions he had taken the prisoners out one at a time for walks around the town, in order to give them an opportunity to enjoy the fresh air and get better meals than the jail fare allowed. On these walks he had often had lengthy conversations with the Prophet, who to him appeared to be far above the average of man in intelligence, and seemed to be very deep and thoughtful, although good-natured and even jocular in his manners. He had never looked upon Joseph Smith and his friends in prison as real criminals, but ascribed their incarceration

mainly to the excitement and bigotry of the times. Mr. Ford remembered the time when the prisoners tried to break jail, and said he discharged his pistol on that occasion, but hoped he did not hurt anybody. This is evidently the shot fired after Cyrus Daniels, one of the visiting brethren, who fell into a hole just as the report of a pistol was heard, and a ball came whistling by. Mr. Ford said that in stopping the prisoners from getting out he also struck a heavy blow at the head of a boyish-looking man, whose name he believed was Snow.

Mr. Ford also accompanied the prisoners to Gallatin, Daviess County, in April, 1839, and said when they arrived there, they were handed over to some half-a-dozen of the strongest and roughest men of Daviess County, who at first crowded the prisoners into a corner of a room, refusing to allow them any liberties at all, but after a little, when they began to converse with the prisoners, they became quiet sociable with them, and a reputed champion wrestler of Daviess County wanted to try strength with the "Mormon" Prophet. Joseph excused himself, saying he was a prisoner and could not engage in exercises of that kind under the circumstances; but finally, through the solicitations of the guard and the man promising not to get angry if he was thrown, Joseph consented to wrestle with him. Consequently a ring was made and the two stepped forth. The Missourian took recourse to all the trickery known to him in the art of wrestling, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to throw Joseph. Finally the latter gathered up his strength, made a first real attempt and threw

his opponent flat upon his back in a pool of water. This made the fellow mad, although he had agreed not to get offended if thrown, and he wished to fight, but the guard interfered and the Daviess County champion was much humiliated afterwards in being made the object of considerable ridicule on the part of his companions, he having previously boasted that he could easily throw Joseph Smith.

We asked Mr. Ford if he knew anything about human flesh having been offered the prisoners. He answered emphatically no. So far as his knowledge went, such a thing was not even thought of, much less done. We suggested that it might possibly have been done without his knowledge, but he thought not. Samuel Tillery, he said, was the man who boarded the prisoners, and he did not believe him guilty of such an act. Mr. Ford was satisfied that the prisoners were treated humanely throughout, and given all the attention and privileges the law and circumstances would allow.

Liberty is now a town of 2,500 inhabitants. There was a boom here a few years ago, but it is gone down and with it the price of property. Two weekly papers, one democratic and the other republican, are published here; there are a number of substantial brick stores and handsome private residences. On a hill immediately east of the court-house stands the William Jewell College, claimed to be one of the best institutions of learning in Western Missouri. We did not here find that animosity of feeling toward the Saints among the old settlers that we did in Ray and Daviess Counties, and in alluding to this we told some of the leading men, with whom we con-

his opponent flat upon his back in a pool of water. This made the fellow mad, although he had agreed not to get offended if thrown, and he wished to fight, but the guard interfered and the Davese County champion was much humiliated afterwards in being made the object of considerable ridicule on the part of his companions, and he having previously boasted that he could easily throw Joseph Smith.

We asked Mr. Ford if he knew anything about James B. Smith having been offered the prisoners. He answered emphatically no. So far as his knowledge went, such a thing was not even thought of, much less done. We suggested that it might possibly have been done without his knowledge, but he thought not. Samuel Tibbets, he said, was the man who boarded the prisoners, and he did not believe him guilty of such an act. Mr. Ford was satisfied that the prisoners were treated humanely throughout, and given all the attention and privileges the law and the circumstances would allow.

Liberty is now a town of 2,500 inhabitants. There was a house here a few years ago, but it is gone down and with it the price of property. Two weekly papers, one democratic and the other republican, are published here; there are a number of substantial brick stores and business private residences. On a hill immediately east of the courthouse stands the William Jewell College, claimed to be one of the best institutions of learning in Western Missouri. We did not have had time and money for feeling toward the State among the old settlers that we did in Hay and Davese Counties, and in following to this we told some of the leading men, with whom we con-

ferred to the excitement and bigotry of the times. Mr. Ford remembered the time when the prisoners tried to break jail, and said he discharged his pistol on that occasion, but hoped he did not hurt anybody. This is evidently the shot fired after Cyrus Daniels, one of the visiting brethren, who fell into a hole just as the report of a pistol was heard, and a ball came whistling by. Mr. Ford said that in stopping the prisoners from getting out he also struck a heavy blow at the head of a boyish-looking man, whose name he believed was Snow.

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versed, that the Saints in Utah always remembered with gratitude the kind treatment the "Mormons" received by the citizens of Clay County in the years 1833-34, after their expulsion from Jackson County. This seemed to please them, and they told us in return that they had no ill-feeling toward the "Mormons." It could amount to no more than a difference in religious opinion anyway, and they agreed with us that men should not hate, persecute or kill each other because of religion, but rather in meekness and a spirit of kindness try to enlighten each other, and always be willing to allow the free exercise of conscience, as long as the common rights of humanity were not infringed upon in the name of religion.

We have been asked many questions in regard to whether the "Mormons" ever expect to come back to Missouri to live. We have answered, "Yes, they will most assuredly come back when the proper time comes; but we can afford to wait until the Lord opens the way."

Several have remarked that immediately after the civil war would have been a very good time for the Saints to have returned, as lands then could be bought very cheap, nearly the whole country having been reduced to a wilderness. A great many who possess imperfect titles on account of original entries being made by "Mormons" who never sold their property, feel somewhat uneasy, thinking perhaps that if these original owners should assert their rights, there might be trouble, and in some instances that may be one reason why people are so anxious to sell.

We start for Kansas City this

evening, and from there will continue our journey to Chattanooga tomorrow.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 10.

Journey Eastward.—Passage Through Several Southern States.—Yellow Fever in Alabama.—Visits about Chattanooga, Tenn.—Voyage from Norfolk, Va., to New York.

NEW YORK, September 26, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Elders Stevenson, Black and Jensen left Kansas City on Wednesday, the 19th inst., for New York. The first 487 miles' travel through the States of Kansas, Missouri and Arkansas, occupying nearly a day and a night, was uneventful. We passed through some very rich and fertile and also through considerable poor and unproductive country. Southwestern Missouri is but very thinly inhabited, and eastern Arkansas consists chiefly of swamps and forests, with only here and there a spot made desirable through human labor. The country is very unhealthy, and most of the inhabitants are negroes. We crossed the Mississippi River to Memphis, Tennessee, a city of 75,000 inhabitants. The great Father of Waters at this point is nearly a mile and a half wide. Owing to the competition with the railroad lines, steamboat traffic on the American rivers is almost a thing of the past. Hurrying through the world, as most people in this great land of ours now do, there are only a few who have patience enough to enjoy the comparatively slow passages which steamboats afford; they al-

most invariably prefer to risk life and property on those railroad lines advertising and running the fastest trains. Consequently we saw only one steamboat about Memphis, besides the ferryboats, one of which brought us across the river in 15 minutes.

The city of Memphis will be remembered by many of the Saints in Utah who emigrated from Europe years ago and came by way of New Orleans and St. Louis on their Zionward journey. It was already then quite an important town, but much larger now, and it expects to double the number of its present inhabitants in a few years, as the place is enjoying a real boom—not like the one we had in Salt Lake City last spring, but a real increase of capital, property and population. Ten years ago Memphis became almost depopulated through the ravages of the yellow fever, and it took a long time before the effects thereof ceased to be felt, but now the sanitary regulations and sewage system have been brought to such a degree of perfection that the inhabitants claim Memphis to be as healthy as any place in the Southern States.

We continued our journey with a Memphis and Charleston Railway train through the States of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, to Chattanooga, Tenn., where we arrived safe and well in the evening of the 20th, but not without adventure. In Decatur, a north Alabama city on our route of travel, yellow fever had broken out a few days previous, and the whole country was wild with excitement and fear in consequence thereof. Up to the time we passed, only two deaths had occurred from the terrible malady,

and there were only a few other cases, but this was enough to cause a general stampede. Of a population of about 5,000 souls, only a very small percentage remained, and that chiefly of negroes. All who could possibly get away had fled in terror to more healthy climes. At the little station of Trinity, four miles west of Decatur, our train was boarded by a physician, who gave orders to lock every door and close every window of the cars in which we were, after which we passed slowly through the illfated city, where every store that we could see from the railway track was closed, and the streets, save for a few straggling negroes, appeared empty and desolate. After crossing the Tennessee River, east of Decatur, we were again permitted to inhale the fresh air admitted through the reopened windows. But our troubles were not yet over. A few miles east of Decatur is the flourishing city of Huntsville, a noted summer resort for Southerners. Fearing the importation of yellow fever, that lively municipality had quarantined against Decatur the day previous, and as our train had passed through—although in shape something like a funeral procession—the local board of physicians inferred that it possibly might be infected through the presence of a young man from Decatur who had got on board at the little town of Trinity previously named. He had been spotted by a detective who, unknown to anyone, was on board our train. Consequently, when we arrived at Huntsville, passengers who had purchased tickets for that place were not permitted to get off. This caused quite a discussion, and some angry words between the conductor and health

officers. The young Decatur man, contrary to his will, was taken up to a mountain station beyond Huntsville, and then finally permitted to leave the train with a reprimand from the conductor. But Chattanooga had in the meantime become alarmed lest the deadly epidemic should be imparted to her people, and while traveling through the mountains between Stevenson and Chattanooga, a quarantine officer passed through our train and had all the passengers give their names and ages and also state under oath where they were from, where they were going, and particularly where they had spent the last fifteen days of their lives. It was a great relief to us when the officer got through and announced that we could pass on as there was no one from the pest infected districts on board. By looking over our notes we found that we this day had breakfasted in Arkansas, dined in Mississippi, lunched in Alabama and taken supper in Tennessee. Such is railway travel.

Having arrived at Chattanooga, we tried to find the office of the Southern States mission, but being unsuccessful, as it was very late in the evening, we put up at the Read House, where we had very comfortable quarters for the night.

The next morning Elder Wm. Spry, President of the Southern States mission, accompanied by Elder Smith, of Colorado, visited us at the hotel, we having succeeded in informing him by mail of our arrival. He afterwards accompanied us on our journey about 150 miles or as far as Rogersville Junction; he was going out to hold a conference meeting. He gave us a general outline of the condition of the Southern States

Mission, which embraces all that portion of the United States lying south of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi Rivers. This vast territory is divided into twelve conferences, namely, the East, West and Middle Tennessee, South and North Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina and North Carolina. At present there are 112 Valley Elders in the mission, mostly young men who are laboring with a zeal and energy worthy of their high and noble calling. There is considerable persecution in some parts of the mission, principally in Tennessee, where four Elders were brutally whipped a short time ago. But taking it altogether, the prospects for a successful missionary campaign next winter are very good, as a great many of the inhabitants of the South are investigating the principles of the Gospel very earnestly. There are at the present time about fifteen hundred Saints in the mission.

We spent half a day in Chattanooga and vicinity, and managed to find just time enough to make a trip to the celebrated Lookout Mountain, where during the late civil war the famous battle above the clouds was fought between the Confederates under General Bragg and the Federals under General Hooker, the latter gaining the victory. Lookout Mountain is one of the highest points in the Southern States, the summit being about 2,640 feet above sea level, and 1,800 above the bed of the Tennessee River, which winds through the narrows below and forms immediately north of the base of the mountain the world-renowned Moccasin Bend. The mountain is reached by traveling three miles with street

car from Chattanooga to the beautiful village of St. Elmo; then by cable car up an incline 4,500 feet long, to the grand six-story hotel, recently built on the slope of the mountain facing Chattanooga; thence by rail (dummy road) to Sunset, near the summit of the mountain. The ascent is made in a few minutes. A few hundred feet below Sunset Station is the famous Sunset Rock, standing out boldly from the west side of the mountain and perpendicular to the height of several hundred feet. Even to us who have seen so many Rocky Mountain cliffs the sight was a delightful one. A new building, which we believe is intended for a photograph gallery, stands boldly on the outermost edge of the rock. Returning to the mountain hotel we climbed a rocky stairway to the summit of Pulpit Rock, where Jefferson Davis delivered a remarkable speech to 11,000 confederate soldiers a short time before the mountain was taken by the federals. At the time he delivered this speech, the position occupied by the two opposing armies was exceedingly favorable to the confederates, and Jefferson Davis, alluding to the small army of federals stationed in and around Chattanooga, said that they (the confederates) had now got the Yankees just where they wanted them, and that a glorious victory to the South would naturally be the result. But the trouble was, the Yankees did not stay where President Davis wanted them, for a few days later, through a successful manœuvre on the part of the Union soldiers and by a remarkable quick transportation of a large body of troops from different parts, the confederates were not only driven from their po-

sitions on Lookout Mountain, but also from their strongholds on Missionary Ridge; not, however, without immense losses on both sides.

Time did not permit us to visit the National Cemetery and other points of interest around Chattanooga, but the beautiful bird's eye view of the Valley of the Tennessee and surrounding country enjoyed by us from the top of Lookout Mountain will long be remembered.

About 11 o'clock p. m. we were again comfortably seated in the cars and continued our journey eastward. Just before entering the city of Greenville, East Tennessee, our attention was drawn to a grand monument standing on the right, on a piece of elevated ground, designating the spot where rests the remains of the late President Andrew Johnson. It was raised by his family and is said to have cost \$100,000.

At 8 o'clock in the evening we arrived at Bristol, an important city on the boundary line between Tennessee and Virginia, its main street being the State line. On Saturday evening we arrived safely at Norfolk, having traveled 2,872 miles, mostly by rail, since we left Salt Lake City.

Norfolk is an important seaport town in the old Dominion, and a great deal of business is done here. We enjoyed the privilege of sailing out of the harbor by moonlight on board the steamer *Guyandotte*, and the sights, as we left the Norfolk harbor, and subsequently passed Newport News, Hampton, Old Point Comfort and Cape Charles on the left, and the Rip Raps, Cape Henry and the Virginia shore on our right, were indeed grand and lovely. After leaving the Chesapeake Bay and emerging into the open ocean, the ship

commenced to rock a little, and some of the passengers began to feel dizzy, but we had in reality a very fine night.

The next morning, September 23rd, found us sailing off Cape May, New Jersey, after which our course lay near the shore of that State, bringing us in full view of Atlantic City, Long Branch, and finally Sandy Hook, which we passed about dark. We landed safely in New York at 11 p. m., and put up for the night at Smith & McNell's Hotel. We were ushered into dark and dreary rooms under the roof, and otherwise treated in a manner that didn't suit us. Consequently, we changed our quarters to the Stevens House, where we at this writing are located very comfortably.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON;
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 11.

The Bartholdi Statue.—A Detailed Description of Its Inception, Construction and Erection.

PALMYRA, WAYNE CO., NEW YORK,
September 27, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

We spent three days in New York City taking in the sights, visiting museums, parks, cemeteries, etc., but we shall only relate a few facts which we learned from authentic sources, in regard to the great Bartholdi statue on Bedloe's Island, which we visited the day before yesterday. This island, about a mile in circumference, and containing 13½ acres of land, lies at the western edge of the upper New York Bay, about two miles from the Battery.

It was known in the early days of New York as Love Island, and acquired its present title when it was sold by Admiral Kennedy of the British Navy (who occupied it as a summer residence) to a member of the old and esteemed Bedloe family of New York. It became the property of the United States government early in the present century, and was considered very valuable for the purpose of harbor defense. Fort Wood, whose granite sides now form an admirable base for the pedestal on which stands the statue of Liberty, was partly built in 1814, and finished in 1840. The present garrison consists of 42 men. There are quite a number of heavy pieces of artillery on the fort wall, and about half a dozen buildings used by the soldiery and lighthouse tenders stand back of the statue. Shading an old graveyard, inclosed with an old iron fence, a huge weeping willow, the trunk of which is sixteen feet in circumference, drew our special attention. It seemed to be very old.

By special favor of Lieut. E. M. Lewis, the military commander of the island, we were permitted to ascend to the head of the colossal statue. The public generally is only admitted to the top of the pedestal. Standing inside the head, at an elevation of about 300 feet, and looking out through the row of windows representing diadems in the crown encircling the forehead, we had a most magnificent view of New York harbor and the cities situated around it. Sergeant James Blake, an intelligent and gentlemanly officer, was our guide. To reach the head we had to ascend a spiral stairway, containing 164 steps. The iron steps leading up through the arm to

the torch light is not yet completed, and we were therefore unable to ascend that far. But in getting permission to ascend to the head our guide said that it was a privilege many would be pleased to pay \$10 for.

The material underlying the foundation of the pedestal is compact clay, gravel and boulders. The foundation up to the terrace level—where the pedestal proper begins—is of solid concrete; it is 90 feet square at the bottom, and 65 feet square at the top and 52 feet 11 inches high. In the centre of the mass is a well hole 10 feet square. The pedestal is built of granite, backed with concrete. The principal dimensions are as follows: From high water mark to top of sea wall, 10 feet; from top of sea wall to foot of pedestal, 50 feet 10 inches; from foot to top of pedestal, 89 feet; total from water level to top of pedestal, 149 feet 10 inches. The base of the pedestal is 62 feet and the top $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. The statue is fastened to the pedestal in a very ingenious manner, but space will not permit us to describe it here. The height of the statue from the heel to top of head is 111 feet; height of head $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet; width of eye, 28 inches; length of nose, 3 feet 9 inches. The length of the forefinger is 3 feet 9 inches; the finger nail, 1.14 by 0.85 feet; and the circumference of the finger at the second joint, 4 feet 9 inches. The torch light is 305 feet above water level.

The statue covering is made of repousse copper, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick. The envelope is kept in position by iron plates and braces riveting it to a framework. Each section of the shell is so supported from the frame that it will not be forced to carry

the weight of any of the section above it, in other words it is self-sustaining. The head will easily accommodate forty persons, and the torch will hold twelve persons. This torch contains five electric lamps of 30,000 candle power. The total weight of the statue is 440,000 pounds of which 176,000 are copper and the remainder wrought iron. Including gifts, gratuitous work and losses sustained by those who gave valuable assistance, the approximate cost of building it is \$200,000.

The Bartholdi Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island is the offspring of a sublime idea, and its progress was watched from its inception to its final completion with great interest by all the civilized nations of the world. It was on an evening in the summer of 1865 that the idea of the Statue of Liberty was first conceived. There was on that occasion in M. Laboulaye's charming retreat, Glagny, near Versailles, France, a gathering of prominent French politicians and journalists, and the talk fell upon international relations, and M. Laboulaye, in alluding to the friendly feelings which had always existed between the French and American people, suggested that a monument be built in America as a token of this friendship. But the Franco-Prussian war came on, and for the time being the idea was dropped. Immediately after the war, M. Bartholdi, one of the ablest sculptors and artists of France, and a native of Alsace (which by the war was ceded to Germany), was enlisted in the cause, and his friend, Laboulaye, backed by a number of other distinguished men, said to the artist: "Go to America, study it, bring back your impressions. Pro-

pose to our friends over there to make with us a monument, a common work in remembrance of the ancient friendship of France and the United States. We will take up a subscription in France. If you find a happy idea, a plan that will excite public enthusiasm, we are convinced that it will be successful on both continents, and we will do a work that will have a far-reaching, moral effect."

Fired with the idea which he embraced with all the ardor of his French and artistic temperament, Bartholdi started for America. No sooner had he reached the harbor of New York than he discovered what he thought the proper place for the monument—Bedloe's Island. He traveled extensively in the United States, met with much encouragement, made a sketch of his project, and on his return to France placed it before his friends. An appeal, which met with a hearty response, was issued throughout France, and the birth of the work was celebrated Nov. 6, 1875, in Hotel de Louvre by a grand banquet, at which prominent Frenchmen and Americans were present. In reply to a toast offered on that occasion by M. Henri Martin to the Republic of the United States and to President Grant, U. S. Minister Washburne spoke as follows:

"I must avow that there is here in the atmosphere this evening such a sentiment of cordial friendship and international fraternity, that it would be difficult for me to keep silent and not give vent to the emotion with which I am filled. There is in truth something touching, something which transports us, in that magnificent conception of the French people of the erection upon the shores of America of a monument coming from the skillful hands of your remarkable artist, M. Bartholdi, which will recall the hundredth anniversary of the independence of my country, and which will

be lasting evidence of that ancient friendship between France and the American colonies, that has been sealed by the best blood of the two peoples. (Hearty applause.)

"The work the initiative which was taken here by France in that fraternal spirit that fills us, all of us Americans, with pride, and with gratitude, will find an echo in the homes of all our fellow-countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. [Applause.]

"The names of your illustrious fellow-countrymen will always be dear to the memory and to the heart of the American people. With what joy have my fellow-countrymen been able here this evening to congratulate themselves upon the presence of the grandsons of Lafayette, of Rochambeau, of Bouille. Our hearts and our hands have gone out to them in grateful acknowledgement in remembrance of the services which their ancestors rendered to my country. [Applause.]

"Never, gentlemen, will my fellow-countrymen forget the courage, the perseverance and the sufferings of those French private soldiers, who fought side by side, shoulder to shoulder, with the American soldiers, and poured out their generous blood for the defence of our liberties. Their ashes have remained mingled with our soil upon those memorable fields of battle that they had already reddened with their blood. May the turf grow more green and the wild flower bloom more beautiful upon their unknown tomb." (Redoubled applause.)

M. Laboulaye, the main supporter of the movement making the Statue of Liberty a reality, replied as follows:

"Gentlemen: We are assembled here this evening to celebrate and to cement the friendship which unites France and America. That friendship is of very old date, and when next year on the 4th of July America will signalize by a festival the anniversary of her declaration of independence, she will celebrate at the same time her alliance with France. As for you, gentlemen, who come from America, and whom we have the happiness of possessing this evening, you who have expressed yourselves so nobly by the mouth of your minister, take back to your country that which you have seen and heard; say to your fellow-citizens that France always remains faithful to America. To-day other people more happy, more stirring, may attempt to dispute with us your affection; but recall to mind that when you were feeble and abandoned, France

took with a warm pressure the hand you held out to her.

"In a century the centenary of independence will be celebrated again. We shall then be only forgotten dust. America, who will then have more than a hundred millions of inhabitants, will be ignorant of our names. But this statue will remain. It will be the memorial of this festival, the visible proof of our affection, symbol of a friendship which braves the storms of time; it will stand there unshaken in the midst of the winds which will roar around its head, and the waves which will shatter their fury at its feet."

In order to raise the necessary funds a great number of festivals and exhibitions were held in different parts of France, and in 1879 all the funds necessary for its execution were attained. The head of the statue was executed for the Paris exposition of 1878. Oct. 24, 1881, the anniversary of the battle of Yorktown, all the pieces of the framework were put in place. The committee invited Mr. Morton, who was the new U. S. Minister to France at that time, to come and drive the rivet of the first piece of copper plating which was to be mounted. It was the left foot of the statue.

The statue was nearly finished in 1883, but as the work on the pedestal was not far enough advanced to permit its erection, it was decided to leave it for some time exposed to view in Paris.

On Friday, July 4, 1884, on the occasion of the anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the United States, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, President of the Franco-American Union, officially presented at Paris the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the world," to United States Minister Levi P. Morton, amid the greatest enthusiasm.

Arrangements having been made for the shipment of the statue to

America, it was carefully taken down, and the several pieces packed in frames of wood, being first properly marked. They were then brought on board the transport steamship *Isere*, which had been chartered to carry it to America. The ship arrived in New York harbor June 17, 1885, after a leisurely trip of 25 days. On the 19th of June occurred the formal reception of the *Isere* and her precious freight, and the occasion was made one of the grandest festivities in the history of New York City.

In the meantime the patriotism of the Americans had been aroused and steps taken by them to do their part of the work in the erection of the pedestal on which the statue, the gift of France, was to stand. The necessary legislation had promptly been done by Congress, providing for the reception of the colossal statue and its future maintenance as a beacon. President Hayes authorized General Sherman to select the site, and he, acting upon a suggestion from a committee previously appointed, designated Bedloe's Island, being aware of Bartholdi's preferences.

The site having been selected, the committee issued to the people of the United States an address which was generously responded to. The contributors included all classes of people. The wealthy banker's \$500 was matched in spirit by sums ranging from 5 to 10 cents, but there was an occasional \$5 and \$10 from some poor workman or woman who was roused to unusual enthusiasm.

The ground was first broken for the erection of the pedestal in April, 1883; the excavation was begun in June, the laying of the foundation

in October following and the work completed in 1886.

The work of building the pedestal was directed by General Charles P. Stone, under the supervision of the executive committee, to the builder, David H. King, sen., who not only built the pedestal, but also erected the statue, which with great pomp and grand festivities was unveiled to the public Oct. 28, 1886.

We left New York last night (Sept. 26th) and traveled by rail 387 miles, to Rochester, N. Y., where we arrived at 11 o'clock this morning. Four hours later we took a New York Central Railway train to this historical place, of which we will give you an interesting account in our next.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 12.

The Hill Cumorah.—Scenes and Locations
Associated with the Rise of the Church.
—The old Smith Residence.—Fayette,
Etc.

HILL CUMORAH, Ontario Co., N. Y.,
September 28, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Sitting on this holy and historical ground the scene of some of the greatest events which have ever transpired in the history of men upon the earth—it is but natural that our minds should be deeply impressed, and that we should give way to unusual and solemn meditation; for it was here, more than twenty-four centuries ago, that the descendants of Jared and his brother fought their last exterminating battle, intoxicated as they were with blood-thirstiness and hatred, for they had rebelled

against the Lord, killed His Prophets and driven Ether, the last man of God among them, into exile, seeking his life. What a tale of woe would not the spirits of all those departed ones have to tell men in the flesh nowadays, were such communications permitted. Would they not appeal to this generation to take warning from their fate, and advise them not to kill, stone or abuse the servants of God now upon the earth as they did in their day. But in the allwise Providence of God their spirits must remain silent while their bodies slumber in the dust until the day of judgment.

It was also in this land that Mormon in his old age and his son Moroni led their Nephite armies against their brethren the Lamanites—the last time—to that dreadful massacre that forever swept a once of God highly favored race out of existence as a nation. It was here that Mormon, beholding the sons and the fair daughters of his people arming themselves for their last battle, burst out in the anguish of his soul and for the last time called upon his people to repent; but the spirit of God had ceased to strive with them, and before the setting of the sun on that fatal day Mormon's ten thousand men which he led in battle array, lay dead on the gory field, together with the many other ten thousands who fell by the hands of the Lamanites. Moroni and a few others were the only ones who escaped with their lives from that terrible battle field. This took place more than fourteen hundred years ago, but looking over this hilly country to-day—the topographical or general character of which has perhaps not changed very much since that time—our imagina-

tion can easily conceive how the exile Moroni, the custodian of the records of his fathers, was hunted by the blood-thirsty Lamanites while writing the closing paragraphs of the Nephite history, and how he finally, no doubt in the shades of night, emerged from his hiding place, and deposited the sacred treasure in this hill, where it lay 1,407 years.

We pass over that long and dreary night and again conceive of Moroni as an angel of glory, still in charge of the same records, instructing the humble farmer's boy, and preparing his mind for a great and noble work, in which tens of thousands were to rejoice. Yonder stands the house still in which that ancient Prophet of God first called upon the youth, who afterwards became the translator of the Book of Mormon, and the next day showed him the plates on the very spot where we now stand. And fifty-nine years and six days ago to-day Joseph Smith received the records of the Nephites from the hands of Moroni. O, how sublime the thought! What emotions fill our hearts when we think of it! We feel that we, indeed, stand on holy ground, and, as if by instinct, we silently renew our covenants that we will be faithful and true in keeping the commandments of God, as Joseph was faithful and true to the commandments the angel gave him until he sealed his testimony with his blood.

The very first man we met yesterday, after our arrival in Palmyra, was Mr. James M. Ford, 72 years old, who said that he was born and raised in Palmyra and had gone to school with Joseph Smith, and had also eaten and slept with him. He showed us the location of the farm

which once belonged to Martin Harris, about a mile northwest of Palmyra. The old farm house, a rock building, is still standing, and the place is now owned by a German. In coming in on the New York Central Railway, we passed through one corner of the farm. Mr. Ford told us a number of interesting things in regard to the Smith family, but when he informed us that Joseph at the time he lived in this neighborhood was an old bachelor, we began to think that the old man's memory had commenced to fail him.

Our next man was Major John H. Gilbert, the person who set the type for the first edition of the Book of Mormon in Egbert Grandin's printing office, in Palmyra, 58 years ago. We found him living in a comfortable frame house on Gates Street. He is a remarkably well-preserved man, 86 years old, and withal gentlemanly and intelligent. He seemed to take pleasure in relating to us the particulars connected with the printing of the Book of Mormon. Of the 580 pages of which the book consisted he set in type about 500 pages himself. The work of printing the book, he remembered distinctly, was commenced in August, 1829, and finished in March, 1830. Oliver Cowdery and Hyrum Smith were the two who generally brought copy to the printing office, and Oliver Cowdery and Mr. Grandin read the proofs together by copy. Mr. Gilbert had, to his best recollection, only seen Joseph Smith twice. On the one occasion he came to the printing office and stayed about twenty minutes, arranging something in regard to the work. Mr. Gilbert said that the late David Whitmer had made several mistakes in his pam-

phlet, where he alludes to the printing of the Book of Mormon. Martin Harris, he said, had given security for the full amount agreed upon for printing, before the work was commenced, and there was no delay because of financial embarrassment. At the time of printing, Mr. Gilbert kept a private copy of the Book of Mormon for his own use, which he sold in an unbound condition a few years ago to P. T. Sexton, a rich banker of Palmyra, for the sum of \$500. Besides this, he has at different times secured a number of bound copies for several parties at the rate of \$15 per copy. We made particular inquiry in regard to the manuscript or copy from which he set the Book of Mormon. His answers went to prove that it was the copy now in possessions of the Whitmers in Richmond, Mo. At times when he was hurried to get a form ready for the press, other compositors would be sent to help him, and on such occasions he would frequently cut the pages in the manner we saw some of them cut while in Richmond. Mr. Gilbert has not followed the trade of a printer for the last sixteen years, but whenever his birthday comes around he makes it a regular practice, and has done for several years, to go to the several printing offices in Palmyra and set up a stick or two of type. He is called the veteran printer of Wayne County, and he thinks he is about the oldest living printer in the United States; he has a wife, 78 years old, living; also five children; six children are dead.

We next visited the house which was once Egbert Grandin's old printing office. Mr. Grandin has been dead many years, but his house, a

substantial three-story brick building, is still standing on the north side of Main Street, Palmyra, about half way between Market and William streets. The lower story is now occupied as a news depot and novelty store; J. H. Johnson, proprietor. The second story which Egbert Grandin used as a bookbindery, is now divided up into dwelling apartments, and the third story, where the Book of Mormon was set in type, is used as a storeroom for sewing machines and organs. It may be interesting to some to know that the celebrated Mr. Singer, the leading man of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, who was a native of this part of the country, helped to erect the building.

We had comfortable quarters at the Powers House last night. The proprietor, Mr. W. A. Powers, is a relative of O. W. Powers, late associate justice of Utah.

Palmyra is a fine little town on the New York Central and West Shore railways, 23 miles east of Rochester, and has about 2,500 inhabitants. Among other handsome buildings we noticed five church edifices, owned respectively by the Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists and Catholics. The four Protestant churches are located on the same street and on four opposite corners, and their four steeples rising from the same place is the first thing that attracts the attention of approaching strangers. The Catholics have to

tent themselves with a position in the rear; in point of church buildings they are generally in front, but in Palmyra they are few in number, and their modest little brick church, standing back from the others, affords only a little cross in lieu of a steeple.

This morning we engaged Mr. T. G. Qualfe, a livery stable owner, to take us a few miles on our journey. He had previously been engaged by others of our brethren from Utah who have visited here. One mile and a half due south of Main Street, Palmyra, taking the road locally known as Stafford Street, we came to the old Smith residence, situated in the extreme northwest corner of Manchester Township, Ontario County, New York, where the youthful Prophet lived with his parents at the time he had his first vision, and was first visited by the angel Moroni. The farm is now owned by W. A. Chapman, son of the late S. T. Chapman, who bought it of a Mr. Absalom Weeks, 28 years ago. But previous to that time and after it was occupied by the Smiths it had changed hands several times, and had also been considerably enlarged.

The frame of the building, originally erected by the elder Joseph Smith and his sons, is still standing, but the interior of the house, a story and a half building, has not been materially changed; new additions, however, have been made to it. The old lady, mother of the present owner, and her amiable daughter, took considerable pains in showing us the room where Joseph is supposed to have kept the plates after receiving them from the angel. In this, however, they may be mistaken; but it is no doubt the room in which Joseph on the night between the 21st and 22nd of September, 1823, conversed with Moroni.

In leaving the old Smith residence we turned east to the Canandagua road, when we, about 2½ miles south of Palmyra, passed the Armington school house, in which Joseph and

several of his brothers and sisters are said to have attended school. One and a half miles further, or a little over four miles due south of Palmyra, on the east side of the Canandagua road stands Cumorah, the highest hill in the neighborhood. It rises abruptly from the more level country north of it to the height of about 150 feet. Climbing it from the north end, the highest point, on which stands the stump of a large tree, is soon reached; south of this the hill gradually recedes until it is lost in the level about one mile distant. There is a number of other hills in this part of the country, and they all extend north and south like so many summits or ridges. A number of them are several miles long, but only a few hundred yards across from east to west. The hill Cumorah is no exception from this rule. Besides the north end its eastern and western slopes are quite steep, and the top consists of a narrow ridge somewhat rocky. Both sides of the north end of the hill have been plowed by the present owner clear to the top, and only a very few trees have been suffered to remain. About 200 yards south from the north end of the hill on the west side, however, is a beautiful beech grove containing, we should judge, about six acres of land; most of the trees are small, but stand very close together. Into the shade of this little grove we retired in solemn prayer and rejoiced exceedingly in being permitted to be here.

FAYETTE, Seneca Co., New York,
October 2, 1888.

We left the hill Cumorah about 11 o'clock to-day. Two miles south we passed through the village of Man-

chester, and traveling one mile further we arrived at Shortsville, a small town on the N. Y. C. & H. R. Ry. From here we went by rail to Waterloo, a flourishing little city of 5,000 inhabitants, situated on both sides of the Seneca River, about half way between the north end of Seneca and Cayuga Lakes. After making some inquiries as to directions, locality, etc., we started southwest in search of the old Whitmer residence in which the Church was first organized. Having walked about ten miles we came to the house of an aged gentleman by the name of John Marshall, who had attended meetings in Whitmer's house when a boy and had heard Joseph and a number of other early Elders of the Church preach. Guided by his directions we had no further difficulty in finding the exact spot we were aiming for, and about 4 o'clock we arrived at the farm once owned by Peter Whitmer, sen., and now the property of Jesse Snook, a prominent business man of Waterloo, who rents it to Chester Reed, the present occupant. The old Whitmer house, in which the Church was organized and in which the three first general conferences of the Church were held and Joseph received a number of important revelations, was a one-and-a-half-story log house. It was torn down years ago, but the site on which it stood is well known and was pointed out to us. The old family well is still there; also several of the logs, which once constituted a part of the building, lay along the fence half decayed.

The site of the old Whitmer residence is about four miles south of Waterloo, and about 40 rods west of the road leading from that place to

West Fayette, on the Geneva and Ithaca Railway, in Fayette Township, Seneca County, New York State. It is about a quarter of a mile northwest of a small cluster of houses (about six in number) locally known as Jollytown, named after a family by that name, which is mentioned in the early history of the Church. The village formerly called Fayette, about four miles east of West Fayette, is now generally known as Bearytown. We examined the ground very closely, and thought of the past, spoke of the present, wished that certain things might transpire in the future, prepared resolutions, made the necessary entries in our note books, and returned to Waterloo, where we are now waiting for the train to take us back to Rochester.

We have heard a great many things about the extraordinary qualities of the Smith family, but nothing that beats the following related to us this morning by a citizen of Palmyra:

"When Joseph Smith," said our informant, "was digging for the Golden Bible, he ran short of provisions, and in order to obtain some mutton from a somewhat simple-minded neighbor, Joseph prevailed on him to furnish a fat sheep, the best he had, to be offered as a sacrifice to God. The farmer, who at first appeared unwilling, at last consented, and consequently the sheep was brought up on a hill back of the Smith family residence. (By the way, the identical hill was pointed out to us.) But while the Prophet was going through a lengthy ceremony preparatory to offering the sacrifice, one of his boys, as previously arranged, carried off the sheep, weighing 200 pounds which

was needed by the Smith family for food."

If one of the Prophet Joseph Smith's boys (his eldest son being born in 1832) could carry off a sheep weighing 200 pounds as early as 1827, five years before birth, it is no wonder that Joseph Smith has made such a great stir in the world. This is a fair specimen of several other stories put in circulation about Joseph Smith and the "Mormons."

In closing this letter we will state, however, that nothing we have been able to learn, through diligent inquiry in this neighborhood about the Smith family, has in the least degree shaken us in the confidence we formerly had in their integrity and truthfulness.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 13.

The Temple and Village of Kirtland.—Old Landmarks.—The Old Kirtland Graveyard.

KIRTLAND, Lake Co., Ohio,
October 2, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Your correspondents arrived at Niagara Falls on Saturday last, where we spent two days taking in such sights as we never had the privilege of resting our eyes upon before, but as this, one of the grandest of the world's natural wonders, has been described so often by those who are able to wield the pen better than we can, we will pass over this interesting part of our journey and simply state that we arrived in this historical place (Kirtland) at 7 o'clock last night. We put up at the old Bump House, named after the

original owner, Jacob Bump, who is known in Church history as the man who wanted to fight President Brigham Young, because the latter testified that Joseph was a true Prophet. Bump was at that time apostatizing. The house, now called the Kirtland Hotel, is situated opposite the street east of the Temple, and is owned by E. L. Kelley, the president of the Josephite branch at Kirtland. This branch contains about 30 members, who hold regular Sabbath schools and meetings every Sunday, sometimes in the Temple and at other times in the large upper room of the hotel. In the evening we were introduced to W. H. Kelley, one of the Twelve Apostles in the Reorganized Church. During our quite interesting conversation with him in regard to whether Joseph Smith, the Prophet, ever taught or practiced the doctrine of plural marriage, we named a number of witnesses who had testified under oath that they knew he did, but Mr. Kelley remarked that he could not take their testimony because they were interested parties. Pray, who are not interested parties in connection with a doctrine that concerns the moral condition of the whole human family.

This morning we were waited upon by Gomer T. Griffiths, who is also one of the Twelve of the Josephite faction, and a real gentleman in his bearings. He conducted us through the Temple and waited patiently upon us while we examined every part of the building and took a number of measurements. The lower large room has been carpeted and nicely fitted up for meeting purposes, while the upper large room, where the School of the Prophets was held in early days, and the Elders studied

languages and the sciences, is only partly repaired as yet. The five school rooms in the attic story have also been whitewashed and cleaned, but not used for many years. Heating apparatus, sufficient to heat up the whole building in a very short time, has been furnished by the Reorganized Church, who has had possession of the building since 1880, when the court of common pleas, in Painesville, Lake Co., Ohio, gave a decision to the effect that the Reorganized Church was the rightful owner of the building, there being no defendants represented in court to dispute their claim. Previous to this the Temple had been claimed and occupied without any legal title whatever by various parties whose rights of ownership, if they ever pretended to have had any, were ruled out by the aforesaid court decision.

We ascended into the old wooden tower, and even went outside, where we had a fine view of the village of Kirtland and surrounding country. Lake Erie, six miles distant northwest, is in plain view, and so also are the towns of Willoughby and Mentor. East and southward the course of the east fork of the Chagrin River, and its tributaries, on which Kirtland is situated, are plainly marked by the narrow valleys through which they flow, making the country immediately around Kirtland somewhat broken and hilly, while further away it consists of gently rolling prairies and timber land. Westward the chimneys of Cleveland, about twenty miles distant, can be seen; and the rich vineyards and well cultivated farms, observed in every direction, goes to show that Joseph the Prophet and the early Elders of the Church

manifested the same good judgment here in selecting gathering places for the Saints as they did in Missouri. Had the Saints been permitted to remain here in peace, Kirtland would no doubt to-day have been a flourishing city, instead of an unimportant village, as it is now, with 250 inhabitants.

We spent about three hours in the lower room of the Temple and felt deeply impressed when we reflected upon what took place inside of those walls more than fifty years ago. We stood in the pulpit, upon the breastwork of which the Savior placed His feet on the 3rd of April, 1836, when He spoke comforting words to the assembled Saints, telling them that He accepted of the House, which they had built to His holy name with great sacrifice and in the midst of financial poverty. It was also here that Moses appeared and delivered to the Prophet Joseph the keys for the gathering of Israel from the four corners of the earth, and where Elijah the Prophet gave to this generation the keys for turning the hearts of the children to their fathers and the hearts of the fathers to the children. Furthermore, in this very room, scores of the brethren received the ministrations of angels, saw glorious visions, spoke in tongues, prophesied and rejoiced as only Saints of the Most High can rejoice under the influence of the Holy Spirit. How often we have with breathless attention listened to our aged veterans when they related what they had seen and heard in this house. But O, how changed the scene. The wicked and ungodly, who drove the Saints away, have long ago desecrated this once holy place, and the Kirtland Temple now stands

in solemn loneliness as a strange sentinel bearing silent witness of the glorious day which once was, a similitude of what, we trust, shall some time in the future be enjoyed on the same ground. Yes, when the Lord opens the way for the Saints to rebuild the waste places of Zion, and the land shall be rededicated for the gathering of God's people, then hosannah to God and the Lamb shall again resound in the hills of Kirtland, and the voices of united thousands, filled with the power of the Holy Ghost, be raised to heaven in "The Spirit of God like a fire is burning," as in the days gone by, only with a stronger chorus. Then shall the Savior again visit His people and holy beings once more administer to their fellow-laborers in the flesh. God hasten the day!

The Temple and principal part of the village of Kirtland stand on high ground—it may be termed a hill as there are lower lands all around it—but a strip of high land lying beyond the Chariton River, between it and Willoughby, obscures it from view from the railway, and the first glimpse we had of the Temple yesterday was from the point where the road crosses this ridge about a mile from the Temple.

Our obliging guide having showed us all through the building, we took a walk around the village. Near the northeast corner of the Temple stands a little square cottage which once was the office of Oliver Cowdery, but is now occupied by G. T. Griffiths. When Oliver Cowdery used it, it stood west of the Temple, near Oliver Granger's residence, which is standing yet. About a block north of the Temple, on the west side of the Chester road, on the

slope of the hill, stands, in a good state of preservation, Joseph Smith the Prophet's old house, now occupied by Milton McFarland, a blacksmith, who has a shop on the opposite side of the street. East of the Temple is Sidney Rigdon's old residence, a one-and-a-half store frame building, on the east side of the road leading to Chester (formerly known as Rigdon Street); this is next door to the hotel where we are stopping. One block south of the Temple, on what in the good old Kirtland days was called Hyrum Street, stands yet Hyrum Smith's old dwelling; a family named Metcalf occupies it now. Two blocks west of the Temple our guide pointed out to us the place where the late President Brigham Young's house once stood. Opposite the street from the Temple, north, on the brow of the hill, is the village churchyard, in which rest many faithful Saints awaiting the morning of the glorious resurrection. Some years ago one of the good Christians of Kirtland undertook to plow a certain part of the graveyard, leveling head-boards, mounds and all, evidently from disrespect to the "Mormons." Later an attempt was made to replace some of the old grave-stones, but it is a question whether they were put in the proper places or not. Among the tombstones which evidently had not been disturbed, we noticed a rude sandstone designating the resting place of the late Oliver Granger, and another bearing the inscription: "Eunice Thompson, who died Sept. 26, 1831; 27 years old." We copied the inscriptions of a few others. Down the hill in a northeasterly direction, on what is called the Kirtland Flats, stands yet the late N. K. Whitney's

old dwelling, a one-story frame house; also the building formerly known as Whitney's store, where Joseph Smith, president of the Reorganized Church, was born, in 1832; and the old Johnson Hotel, a two-story brick house, and other buildings which once belonged to the Saints. The old Whitney residence is now owned by Riley Harris, and Whitney's store by J. F. Wells, who still carries on the business of a merchant at the old stand.

The present village of Kirtland contains about 40 dwellings, considerably scattered, and the whole place has a somewhat ancient appearance, and seems to testify of a condition of affairs that has seen better days. Of late years it has been visited by a great many people from all parts of the country, who mostly come out of curiosity to see the "Mormon" Temple. Some of these show all due respect to the building, while others—so Mr. Griffiths informed us—exhibit a wicked and mocking spirit. In looking over the Temple register, in which every visitor is required to sign his or her name, we ascertained that over 600 persons had visited the building during the last year; among them were some of our Elders and other visitors from our mountain home.

We leave Kirtland with heavy hearts, contrasting in our minds the present with the past. Crossing the east fork of the Chagrin River, on a short distance up the stream the celebrated Kirtland Mills. We have now climbed the hill on the opposite side, from which we are taking a last look at the Temple, and now proceed on our return trip to Willoughby, from where we take cars to Chi-

cago; thence to Nauvoo and Carthage.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 14.

Visit to Chicago.—Keokuk and other Points of Interest in the State of Iowa.
—Arrival in Nauvoo.

NAUVOO, Hancock Co., Illinois,
October 6, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

While the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is holding its semi-annual Conference at home, we are holding our little conference in the "City of Joseph," the once beautiful Nauvoo, the city that the Saints "loved so well" in years gone by, and which they expect to possess again, after the Lord has redeemed Zion. Yes, ill-fated Nauvoo, we love thee even now, though thy glory has departed from thee for a season. But the river, the islands, the uplands, the flats, the timber and the prairie are still here and everything necessary to build even a much larger city than the one which once was, and of which the present town is but a sad relic.

Before leaving Kirtland, Ohio, on the 2nd inst., we were shown where a thief some years ago had broken in by digging his way under the northeast corner-stone of the Temple, with the expectation of being rewarded for his trouble by finding costly treasures, which he imagined had been stored away by the Saints. It is needless to say that he was disappointed in his search, but he was very successful in damaging the building considerable; for in undermining the corner-stone, that par-

ticular part of the Temple sank, causing the wall to crack in several places and the plastering to peel off. As soon as the Josephites came in possession of the building they repaired the damage as far as possible by bracing up the floor and filling up the cracks in the wall, but the traces of the injury done the building will always remain.

Our journey from Willoughby to Chicago was uneventful; we passed through some fine country, both woodland and prairies, and saw several pretty sites where we thought Stakes of Zion might be organized and Temples built some time in the future.

Chicago is a great city. Of all the large towns in the United States none has grown so rapidly as has this the grand metropolis of the West. She now claims 800,000 inhabitants. In 1833 it was a mere village.

In perusing the documents of the Historical Society library at 142 Dearborn Avenue, we saw the first number of the first newspaper published in Chicago. It was called the *Chicago Democrat*, was dated Nov. 26, 1833, and published by J. Calhoun. It was a twenty-four column paper, printed on what was then called a royal sheet and quite ably edited. There were 21 columns of reading matter and three columns of advertisements. No. 2 contained the following at the head of its reading matter:

"The *Democrat* is published every Tuesday in the village of Chicago, Illinois, in the building on the corner of South Water and Clark Streets."

The terms were \$2.50 per annum in advance.

We will say in connection herewith that at the Historical Society li-

brary are found some very interesting and valuable works and documents, although the institution lost all its old collections in the great fire in 1871. Among other things that interested us was a large history of Hancock County, published by Chapman Brothers, Chicago, and an "Illustrated Historical Atlas of Hancock County," by A. T. Andreas, now a prominent author. This atlas, which is very handsomely gotten up, contains a well-drawn map of the city of Nauvoo, including Commerce and all subsequent additions. The history of Hancock County devotes considerable space to the history of the "Mormons," and we took the liberty to call on the principal author and publisher, Charles Chapman, Esq., at his office, 128 Van Buren Street. He appeared to be a gentlemen of high culture, and when we alluded to the history of the "Mormons" in Hancock County as being exclusively an anti-"Mormon" production, and that justice had not been done to our side of the question, he said that he had not written it himself, but that it was the product of a man who had been all through the troubles and considered himself well posted—a mobber, no doubt, who took an active part in shedding the blood of innocent people. Mr. Chapman was frank enough to acknowledge that the author had written it from a standpoint altogether unfavorable to the "Mormons," and that no attempt, so far as he (Mr. Chapman) knew, had been made to get any information from our side. This is enough to give the readers of the *News* an idea of what that part of the history of Hancock County treating on the "Mormons" is.

Mr. John Moses, the custodian of the Historical Society library, is at present busily engaged in writing a history of Illinois, and was very pleased to learn a number of facts from us which he had never heard of before. While Elder Jenson busied himself with the old records, Elder Stevenson was very diligent in posting this gentleman, who had promised he would try to do justice to the "Mormons" in his history. We suggested if he would treat our people fairly, we should give him the credit for being an exception to the general rule, as nearly every non-Mormon writer so far had misrepresented us. He expressed his total unbelief in the Spaulding Story and a great many other silly tales put in circulation about Joseph Smith and his people; and was particularly interested in the descriptions Elder Stevenson, from his own experience and personal knowledge, gave of the Prophet and his characteristics.

While in Chicago we visited a number of large business establishments, but none that equaled Marshall, Field & Co.'s dry goods house, situated on Adam, Quince and Franklin streets and Fifth Avenue—a solid block. This building, in which business is transacted to the amount of \$40,000,000 a year, is an immense rock structure, 323x190 feet, and eight stories high. The employees number 1,350. In connection with the wholesale house there is a retail business in another part of the city, where 1,500 clerks are employed. Adding to this about 300 men who are employed by the firm in its factories and warehouses, we have a total of 3,150 persons engaged by Marshall, Field & Co.—enough to make a mu-

nicipality of their own. The figures given are no doubt correct, as we received them from Mr. L. M. Williams, assistant superintendent, and Arthur H. Becker, a young gentlemanly salesman, who took great pains to show us around and give us correct information. This is supposed to be the largest dry goods establishment in the world, a distinction previously given to a New York firm, but of late years Marshall, Field & Co. have been ahead of all New York houses in their line of trade.

Bidding Chicago good-bye at a late hour last night, we resumed our journey westward in an elegant chair car of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway. About daylight this morning we crossed the Mississippi River from Rock Island, Illinois, to Davenport, Iowa, and at 11 o'clock a. m. arrived at Elden, on the Des Moines River, in the southeast corner of Wapello County. Here we changed cars, taking a branch road of the C. R. I. & P. Railway to Keokuk, 63 miles from Elden. At a point where the Des Moines River makes a sharp bend southward we passed a little town called Mount Zion, but could not learn whether the name was suggested through any historical connection our people might have had with the place in early days. But the towns of Bonaparte and Farmington, in Van Buren County, through which we also passed, will be remembered by the exiles of 1846. It was the people of Farmington who prevailed upon the musicians of the Camps of Israel to come and play for them, and it was also near Farmington where Wm. H. Folsom and Rodney Swazey were taken by the mob and hung up by their heels un-

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til they were nearly dead, because they would not deny their religion. A few miles before reaching Keokuk we crossed Sugar Creek, the memorable stream which can never be forgotten by those who pitched their tents on its frosty banks and drank of its icy waters in the bleak month of February, 1846. The railway crosses the stream near the point where it empties into the Des Moines River, but that part of it which is made sacred in Church history, through the exiled Saints being camped on its banks, is a few miles above to the northwest. We arrived at Keokuk about 2 o'clock. This was an outfitting place for the emigrating Saints who crossed the plains in 1853-55, and many of the readers of the News will remember the heights of Keokuk with mixed feelings of sadness and joy. For here a number of weary pilgrims from northern Europe, whose friends and relatives yet reside in the valleys of the mountains, closed their eyes in death, worn out by the long voyage across the Atlantic and up the Mississippi, and before they got ready to undertake the long, tiresome journey of 1,300 miles to the far west.

When we think of all the sacrifices that have been made in the past years for the cause of Zion. When we think of the many who fell as martyrs for the truth in Missouri and Illinois, and the hundreds who died through fatigue and hardship, while exhausting their last mortal strength trying to cross the dreary plains and climb the lofty mountains to reach the land of the Saints, to say nothing of the many who found a watery grave before reaching the promised land of Joseph, then indeed do we realize that the life of a

Saint is a life of trials and afflictions, and that were it not for our hope in regard to the future and our implicit faith in the final reward of those who have sacrificed all for Christ's sake, we would of all men be the most miserable. But God is just, and He has all power in heaven and earth. He has therefore also power to raise the dead. And when the trump announcing the morning of the resurrection shall sound, then shall those who fell by the wayside—whose bodies were lowered into the mighty deep, or who sleep in unknown graves on the broad prairies of the west—come forth with renewed and immortal bodies, and rejoice forever that they kept the faith; for it is far better to die in the discharge of our duties than to live and deny the truth. How much better off are those faithful ones whose mortal remains sleep in the hills of Keokuk, and who never saw the mountain home of the Saints—which, in connection with their love for the Gospel, caused them to leave their native homes thousands of miles away—than some of their friends and relatives whose lives were spared, but who since have become engulfed in darkness and have denied the faith.

Keokuk is now a city of about 15,000 inhabitants. Having had rival neighbors, it has not grown so fast as some of her sister cities on the banks of the Mississippi River, but is nevertheless quite a lovely place to live in. Its location on the slope of the hill is quite romantic.

Having rambled about Keokuk for an hour, we walked up to the lower end of the new government canal, and two of our party had, for the first time in their lives, the opportunity of seeing how a vessel is lifted

and lowered by means of a lock. This canal, which is about seven miles long, was built by the United States government in the years 1867-77, and cost about four million dollars. There are three locks, one at Keokuk, another at Price's Creek, two and a half miles above, and a third one at Nashville at the upper end of the canal. Each lock is 80 feet wide and 300 feet long, and by means of the three locks vessels are lifted 19 feet. The canal, which was built for the purpose of avoiding the dangers of passing the Des Moines Rapids, is about 300 feet wide, and has an average depth of seven feet. It is made of a part of the river bed by building a wall or dam lengthways in the river. This wall is 45 feet wide in the bottom and 10 feet wide at the top. The sloping walls are built of square rocks, while the inside is built up with earth. The obliging captain of the government steamboat *Vixen*, Mr. H. B. Whitney, gave us most of this information. By his permission we sailed on his boat from Keokuk to the second lock, at Price's Creek, from where a good-natured farmer took us in his light wagon two and a half miles further to Sandusky. From there we went by rail (C. B. & Q. Ry.) seven miles to Montrose, thence with the ferryboat across the Mississippi River to Nauvoo, Illinois, where we arrived about 7 o'clock this evening.

We at once proceeded to Major L. C. Bidamon's residence, at the foot of Main street, where, after taking a walk to the Temple Block, we have put up comfortably for the night.

ANDREW JENSON,

EDWARD STEVENSON,

JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 15.

Incidents of the Nauvoo Troubles.—Major Bidamon Tells an Interesting Story.

NAUVOO, Hancock Co., Illinois,
October 7, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

The more we see of Nauvoo, the better we like its beautiful site, and admire the taste of the Prophet and his brethren when they selected this spot for a gathering place of the Saints. Of all the places we have seen on the Mississippi River, none, in our estimation, equals this for the location of a great city, and it is an easy matter for our imagination to conceive how magnificent was the view when the beautiful stretch of land between Joseph's mansion, near the river, and the heights, where the Temple reared its lofty spire heavenward, was covered with the neat habitations and lovely gardens of the Saints. Even now in its neglected state, when the site is covered with farms, vineyards and orchards and weeds are contending with pedestrians and vehicles for the possession of the streets and sidewalks, the place has great attractions. What a wonderful change would be brought about in a few years, were a community of Saints, possessing the industrial and stirring habits characteristic of such, to take possession here. And the present population seem to be fully aware of this. In our rambles through town we have met a number of men, and some of them prominent, who have expressed great desires for the Saints to return. "It was," said they, "a great mistake to drive the Mormons away from Illinois. Ever since they left, Nauvoo has been but a poor shadow of its former self, and all

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ARTHUR JAKSON,
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our efforts to rebuild the place and increase our population have been in vain. We sincerely wish the Mormons would return. They would now be received with open arms." Such seems to have been the change of sentiment, that a few years ago a petition was formulated, signed by nearly the entire population of Nauvoo, and addressed to Joseph Smith, President of the Reorganized Church, asking him to make Nauvoo his headquarters. He saw fit, however, to locate at Lamoni, Iowa. Whether the Saints in Utah would be equally welcome is an open question.

We have since our arrival here met and conversed with a number of the leading men of the town, who without exception have treated us with much courtesy and respect, and seem to be greatly interested in our people. Among those we will make special mention of our host, Major L. C. Bidamon, husband of the late Emma Smith (widow of the Prophet Joseph). He is a remarkably well-preserved man, now nearly 83 years old, and withal sociable and agreeable in his manners, being somewhat inclined to be witty. We asked him a number of questions in regard to his experience among the Saints in the time of the troubles in 1846, which he answered in a straight-forward manner, and at times spoke with considerable emotion. His narrative ran as follows:

"I am a Virginian by birth, removed to Ohio with my parents when a boy, and there married, but lost my wife by death, and subsequently removed to Canton, Ohio. When I first arrived in Nauvoo in April, 1846, I found the city menaced by a wicked mob, who, notwithstanding the majority of the Mormons had already gone into the wilderness, were relentless in their persecutions of the few who remained behind. I was soon convinced that the Mormons were

a much abused people, and as I have always felt inclined to stand up for justice and right at all times and under all circumstances, it was not long before my sympathies were with the Saints. I watched the doings of the mob with a keen eye, and felt indignant when I witnessed how illegal and vexatious lawsuits were gotten up, based upon trumped up charges, for the purpose of dragging defendants twenty or thirty miles into out-of-the-way places in order to waylay them, and often for the purpose of whipping and murdering them. And when they, in some instances, refused to go, knowing the object was to kill them, the mobbers set up a great hue and cry that the Mormons disobeyed the law. I was finally appointed a trustee on the part of the 'New Citizens' to negotiate with the mobbers for peace, and was also sent to Governor Ford to lay our grievances before that official. At first he refused to listen to me and swore that he would not spend another dollar in the interest of Hancock County, having already had so much trouble with the people there. I knew, however, that our cause was just, and becoming indignant at the governor's actions, I threatened that if he would not do his duty in the matter, I would appeal to the President of the United States. Seeing that I was in earnest, he at last listened to what I had to say, and agreed to send Major Parker with me back to Nauvoo with a *posse* of twelve men, which were to serve as a guard to protect those upon whom writs might be served in the future. The mob, however, would not recognize Parker's authority, and swore by all the devils and saints they could think of, that they would do as they d—d pleased and did not care for the governor nor anybody else; not even Jesus Christ, if He would dare to say a good word for the Mormons.

"Some time afterwards I was sent to Springfield a second time to see the governor. I started down the river in a small rowboat, and the mobbers learning of my departure started in pursuit, crossed the river from Warsaw, and surrounded the house in which I had intended to stop for the night, at Churchville (near Alexandria, Mo.). There were twelve or fifteen of them. They came in and asked me how I would like to go with them to Mr. Brockman's camp. I answered that I should not like it at all, as I was fully aware that his men were not favorably disposed toward me. 'But, by G—d,' said they, 'you will go,' and they made a move as if they wanted to take me by force. Quick as thought I had my hand on my pistol, which in the next instant I

held cocked in their faces, while I halloed out, 'Stand back there, or I will blow daylight through you.' The way these mobbers made for the door and scattered in all directions was a caution. Ordering my two men, whom I had engaged to row me down the river, to get the boat ready, I retreated with pistol in hand, got in the boat, pulled to the middle of the stream where the balls of the mobbers could not reach us, and arrived at Quincy in safety. From the latter place I continued the journey by stage to Springfield. While stopping at Mount Sterling a few hours, I was surrounded by the inhabitants who were very curious to know all about the situation at Nauvoo. I made such explanations as I thought proper, and after I was through, a hard looking individual, with dark features, came up to me and said he was a captain in Singleton's militia, and was going to Nauvoo the next day. All at once it came to me that I should play the mobbers a trick, in order to avert the immediate danger which threatened Nauvoo, and keep the mob off until I had seen the governor. I asked the fellow if he would carry a letter for me to my brother in Nauvoo. He said he would on conditions that I would let him know the contents of it. This I agreed to do. I then wrote a few lines, in which I pretended to advise the citizens of Nauvoo to refrain from shedding blood, if possible; 'for,' wrote I, 'it would be an easy matter for you with your hell acres and hell half acres to destroy the whole mob force at once.'

"What do you mean by hell acres and hell half acres?" demanded my man.

"Oh, I don't like to tell you that," said I.

"Then by G—d," ejaculated he, "I will not carry your letter."

"Very well," said I, "provided you can keep a secret, I will explain to you." He thought he could, and I then proceeded to tell him that every approach to Nauvoo was undermined and large quantities of powder deposited in such a manner that by the pulling of certain wires, mechanically arranged, it could be exploded at will. Of course there was not a word of truth in that, but he drank it all in and went immediately to the mob camp, where the letter was read. It had the desired effect. The mob, although quite strong enough to have taken Nauvoo at once, concluded to wait for reinforcements, which gave me time to return from my visit to the governor, before the final attack was made.

"The governor returned me with orders to Major Flood, of Quincy, for him to proceed to Nauvoo and assist in adjusting the

difficulties between the Mormons and the mob. That gentleman was at first unwilling to go, but finally concluded to do so, taking with him a number of other leading men of Quincy. When we arrived at Montrose, we could distinctly hear the cannonading on the prairie east of Nauvoo, and having crossed the river, I sent the Quincy delegation in my carriage out to the mob camp. These gentlemen tried their best to establish peace between the fighting parties, but all in vain; all they succeeded in doing was that they induced the mob to promise to cease hostilities until the next day. As the delegation was returning to Nauvoo several shots were fired after them. I happened to pick up a spent ball, which I presented to Mr. Wood, saying that here was a compliment from the belligerents. At seeing this Mr. Wood became so indignant that he jumped to his feet, exclaiming, 'Give me a gun, and I will stand by you and see it all through. In all my intercourse with people—and I have dealt even with heathens—I have never, in all my life, seen such infamy among mankind.' I advised Mr. Wood to keep at a safe distance and witness what was going on, that he might live to testify of our doings, for we all expected to fight till the last. Mr. Wood, who was a wealthy man, subsequently showed great kindness in a substantial manner toward the afflicted Saints, by sending up large quantities of provisions, partly of his own stock, and partly such as he had influenced others to give.

"Previous to this, I, together with a few other men, was sent to the mob camp at Green Plains with a view to bringing about a compromise. On that occasion it became my lot to deliver a speech in defence of the Mormons. Now, I am not a very religious man, and not at all superstitious; in fact, I am inclined to be rather skeptic, but I believe I was inspired on that occasion to portray the condition of the people in Nauvoo, and to plead in behalf of suffering innocence, for even the feelings of the hardened mobocrat Williams seemed to be touched as he listened to me; for I plainly saw tears coursing their way down his guilty cheeks. I told them that the remnant of the Mormons were making preparations to get away as fast as possible, and all they asked for was a little more time in which to dispose of their property and raise means for their journey. And furthermore that some of the heads of families were in the service of the United States, marching toward Mexico, and their families could not conveniently be moved until these soldiers had

drawn their pay. I was apparently making a good impression upon the mobbers, when Thomas C. Sharp, the notorious editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, interrupted me and told me that the war was between the Mormons and the old citizens, and that I had no right to interfere, and further that if we, whom they designated Jack-Mormons, did not stand aloof, we should share the same fate as the Mormons. When I alluded to the sufferings of the women and children, he burst out in terrible rage, saying, after uttering a fearful oath, 'Drive the women into the river and throw their d—d young ones in after them.'

"It was finally agreed that we should meet at Warsaw the following day and make another attempt at compromising. Here I was asked by Mr. Williams to sign a document to the effect that we would see all the Mormons out of Nauvoo within a reasonable time. This I emphatically refused to do, and said that I would see him in hell a thousand fathoms deep before I would put my signature to such a paper. At last I became so disgusted with him that I invited him to come out into the street for five minutes, and we would then and there settle the matter at once so far as we two were concerned. But he refused to engage in that kind of experience.

"When I think of the doings of these fellows, even at this late day, it makes my blood boil within; it was a shame, gentlemen, a burning shame; the way your people were treated at that time.

"I returned from Warsaw without affecting any compromise, and our next move was to defend ourselves the best we could. We turned the steamboat shafts into cannon, repaired our small arms, manufactured ammunition, and were determined to sell our lives as dear as possible. The famous battle of Nauvoo is a matter of history. I fought by the side of the gallant Captain Anderson, who fell as one of the noble defenders of human rights, but at last we were forced to capitulate, and so incensed were the mobbers at the active part I had taken in the defense, that they put me and two others on the death list, threatening to kill us at sight. To avert their murderous intent, I absented myself from Nauvoo for a few months, and did not return until February, 1847. During my absence the robbers plundered my house, the one I had bought of President Young, carrying away and destroying everything they could get a hold of, including my stock of wagons and house furniture, which were never returned to me, save some of the carpets which I had

purchased of the Temple committee. When Governor Ford, in his history of Illinois, says that he was not posted in regard to the crimes enacted by the mob in Nauvoo at that time, he tells a wicked lie, for I visited him twice myself, and told him all about it; and I also know that he was duly informed by others.

"In regard to Joseph Smith, candor compels me to say that he was a noble man, yes, a noble man, indeed. I never met his equal in all my life, and I only saw him once, but that occasion I shall never forget. A certain phrenologist had invited me to accompany him to Nauvoo to pay Joseph a visit, the professor desiring to make an examination of his head. We found Joseph walking in the garden; he received us kindly and soon invited us into the house, where I had a two hours' conversation with him. His manners, movements and whole deportment made a deep and lasting impression upon me, and convinced me that he was not the impostor and wicked man he had been represented by his enemies to be; to me he appeared to be a good, honest and noble-hearted man, and from all I have ever learned about him since, I have not had occasion to change my opinion about him."

In answer to further inquiry, the major described the Prophet as a very good looking man, with light complexion and light brown hair. He was strongly built and well proportioned, was about six feet high and weighed 200 pounds.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 16.

Nauvoo the Beautiful.—Old Familiar Residences Described.—Nauvoo as it Now is.—Fate of Mobocrats, Etc.

NAUVOO, Hancock Co., Illinois,
October 8, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Dear Sir—When the beautiful Temple was adorning the most prominent point in Nauvoo, visitors could from its lofty spire obtain a fine view of the city and surrounding country,

but as there is no Temple tower to get into now, we obtained permission from the Catholic minister, H. J. Reimbold, Esq., to ascend into the spire of the church building, situated on the block immediately north of the Temple Block. There, from an elevation of about 150 feet, we were enabled to form a correct idea of the geographical and physical features of Nauvoo. The winding course of the great Mississippi all the way from Fort Madison in the north to Keokuk in the south, is plainly visible, and the beautiful flat country, stretching eastward toward La Harpe and Carthage, dotted with farm houses here and there, presents a view not soon to be forgotten, while westward, across the river, lies the town of Montrose, and the tracts of country on which Zarahemla, Ambrosia and other small settlements, founded and inhabited by the Saints, once stood. The timber along Sugar Creek can plainly be seen, and on a clear day the woodlands along the Des Moines River, are faintly visible along the western horizon.

Confining our vision to a smaller radius we observed how beautiful the township of Nauvoo is encircled on three sides by the river, which here makes a kind of horseshoe bend. We were also enabled to see that most of the present population of Nauvoo live in clusters of houses lying adjacent to Mulholland Street, the principal thoroughfare in the city, and also on those blocks extending in a southwesterly direction from the Temple site to the present ferry landing, which is near the foot of Parley Street, a short distance above where the ruins of Wm. Law's old mill stands as a reminder of the past.

We had quite an interesting conversation with Mr. Reimbold, the Catholic priest, who said he was raised in Nauvoo and had attended school together with several of the Prophet's sons.

By the aid of some of the older citizens and a plat of the city of Nauvoo, we proceeded to locate and visit a number of old residences which formerly belonged to members of the Church. Among these were the residence of the late Parley P. Pratt, standing on the corner of Young and Wells Streets. It is a fine two-story brick building, one of the largest in Nauvoo, and is now the residence of the Catholic priest. Until the church building lying immediately south of it was erected, the Catholics used to hold their meetings in it. On the corner of Knight and Durphy Streets is the old home of the late Edward Hunter, at the foot of the hill. On the top of the hill on the north side of Knight Street stands what was formerly known as the old Mormon arsenal. It is now used as a Catholic convent and has fine gardens surrounding it. On the south side of White Street, between Durphy and Partridge Streets, stands a fine two-story building on the site of Willard Richards old home. In making an excavation for a cellar on the premises, about the year 1868, a stone slab covered with about two feet of sand was discovered. By removing the dirt the following inscription was laid bare: "Jeanetta Richards, born at Walkerfold, England, Aug. 21, 1817, married to Willard Richards, Sept. 24, 1838; died July 9, 1845." Due respect was shown the remains, which were carefully removed to the southwest corner of the lot and there in-

terred, where they still remain under the same stone slab which at present is partly hid in the tall grass. When the remains of Sister Richards were removed they were in an excellent state of preservation. We conversed with at least three persons who had assisted in moving them, and they all described the beautiful, nicely combed hair, and the natural color of the skin of the corpse; also the silk dress, the white kid gloves, and the linen in the coffin, which were all as natural as when first consigned to the tomb more than twenty years before.

The residence of the late President Brigham Young, on the corner of Kimball and Granger Streets, is still standing; also Heber C. Kimball's old house on Munson Street, Orson Hyde's house on the corner of Carlin and Hotchkiss Streets, John Taylor's on Main Street, William Law's place near the mill site on the bank of the river, and scores of others. The old Seventies' Hall, on the corner of Parley and Bain Streets, has been remodeled and the upper story taken off; it is now used for school purposes, being known as the First Ward School House. The upper story has also been taken off the old Masonic Hall, on Main Street, and the remaining two stories covered in with a modern tin roof. The old *Times and Seasons* printing office, a two-story frame building, has been removed from its former location and placed upon a rock foundation near the upper steamboat landing, within the site of what was formerly Commerce City. The building known in the earliest days of Nauvoo as the upper stone house tumbled down many years ago, but the rocks have been used in erecting a new build-

ing on the old site, using even part of the old walls.

The Mansion, Joseph's old residence, is fast crumbling to pieces. The east wing facing on Water Street, has not been occupied for years; the west wing, facing on Main Street, is inhabited by a Mr. Madison and family. The property belongs to David Smith, youngest son of the Prophet, who is still at Elgin, Illinois, being yet somewhat demented, but entirely harmless. Joseph's old brick store, on Water Street, is yet in a pretty good state of preservation, but is not occupied. It belongs to Joseph Smith's eldest son ("Young Joseph"), together with the whole block on which it stands, with other improvements on the east side, including the house where the Prophet lived previous to his moving into the Mansion. Near the centre of the block, which is situated on the bank of the river, is the private burial ground of the Smith family, where rests the mortal remains of the senior Joseph Smith and his wife Lucy Mack, the Prophet's parents. Here also rests the late Emma Smith Bidamon, Frederick Smith, one of the Prophet's sons, the first wife of "Young Joseph" and two of his children, and a number of others. According to the best information we could obtain, Robert B. Thompson, Samuel H. and Don Carlos Smith, the two latter brothers of the Prophet, were also interred here.

From Major Bidamon we learned that the Prophet's only sister, Catherine Salisbury, resides at Webster, Hancock County, the place formerly known as Ramus or Macedonia. Some time before his death, President Young sent her, as a present, quite a sum of money, toward her

support in her old age. She is now 76 years old. Lucy Smith, the Prophet's youngest sister, died some years ago at Colchester, McDonough County, Illinois. Julia Murdock, adopted daughter of Joseph the Prophet, died from cancer in the breast, six or seven years ago, near Nauvoo. She was first married to Elisha Dickson, who was accidentally killed by the explosion of a steamboat, of which he was partly owner. Later, she married a lawyer by the name of Middleton, who is still alive.

We have visited the site of the old grove where public meetings were held previous to the erection of the Temple, where Joseph delivered some of his most powerful sermons, and where Brigham Young was first accepted as the Prophet's legal successor. The lot in which this grove once was is now owned by a Mrs. Newton. It is on Knight Street, east of Robinson Street, in block 16 of Well's Addition, in the fourth tier of blocks east of the Temple. We had to make many inquiries among the old settlers before we were able to determine the exact location. In the good old Nauvoo days meetings were also held in a grove immediately west of the Temple, and in the hollow south of Mulholland Street.

In visiting the eastern parts of the city, the place where the famous Nauvoo battle was fought was pointed out to us, and the exact spots where William Anderson and his son and Brother Norris fell. The building in which the Nauvoo *Expositor* was printed is still standing, and is owned by S. M. Walter, a fine old gentleman, who took great pains in giving us particulars in regard to the

building. There are ten houses on the Temple Block; the exact spot where the Temple stood is owned by C. W. Reimbold, who keeps a little store and also a book in which he requests his visitors to the Temple site to register their names. Mr. Reimbold has taken considerable pains in posting himself concerning the old places, and we found him very correct and reliable. We learned a great many historical facts in regard to the Temple, the rocks of which have been shipped to nearly every State in the Union, and some have even been sent to Europe. Thus there is a Catholic Church in Rock Island, built of the Temple rock, a private residence in Davenport, Iowa, not to speak of a large two-story building standing in the southwest corner of the Temple Block itself, erected by the Icarians, and the many rocks used for ornamental purposes in many private residences in Nauvoo. A pile of picked rock, containing moons and other designs, lies in the south part of Nauvoo, being hauled there by a man who expected to erect a private residence with them.

Of the present population of Nauvoo, 1,700 all told, about three-fourths are Germans, the remainder consists chiefly of French, English and Americans. In a religious point of view they are divided into Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians, Lutherans and Josephites. Of the latter there are only a very few, not enough to hold meetings. The German Presbyterians own a snug little church on Young Street, northeast of the Temple; it was built of the bricks taken from the old John D. Lee residence. The German Lutherans also own a respectable

church two blocks south of the Temple site, on Wells Street. Dr. Robert D. Foster's old three-story house on the corner of Mulholland and Woodruff Streets was burned down several years ago; a part of the foundation yet remains.

From Phineas Kimball, an extensive landowner, M. M. Morrill, the veteran lawyer of Nauvoo, J. N. Datin, mayor of the city, Thomas Kelley, who claims to be the only member of the original Church at Nauvoo, and a number of others, we learned that Sheriff Jacob Backenstos, who took a noble stand in defending the Saints during the difficulties in 1846, died in Oregon about fifteen years ago as a highly respected citizen; he was also wealthy. On the other hand, Thos. S. Brockman, one of the principal mob leaders in 1846, came to a miserable end in Kansas, whither he removed from Mount Sterling, Adams County, Illinois, after trying in vain to be elected to office in Hancock County. He was killed during a quarrel, in which he was the attacking party, in 1872. Francis Higbee died in New York, his brother in Pittsfield, Pike County, Illinois. Robert D. Foster went to California and has not since been heard of by our informants. William and Wilson Law are supposed to be alive yet, as they both visited Nauvoo a few years ago, trying to sell their claims on the islands in the Mississippi River, near Nauvoo. All these will be remembered by the Saints as the parties who, more than any others, were the means of bringing about the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum. Levi Williams, the principal leader of the Carthage Jail murderers, died at his home in Green Plains, about the year 1858. John

McAuley, a notorious mobocrat, died a most miserable death about the year 1872. While lying on his death bed, suffering the most excruciating pains, he told Mr. Morrill, our informant, that if he could only blot out five years of his life (referring to the time he fought the "Mormons"), he could die a happy man. Mr. Morrill said that a great number of the old mobbers came to a miserable end, and he did not remember a single one of them who ever amounted to anything after having persecuted the Saints. On the other hand, we heard of several of those who took an active part in defending the Saints who have since occupied various positions of honor and trust. Prominent among them we may mention Mr. Morrill himself, who has always been on the side of justice and right, and took an active part legally in defending a number of the brethren in times of their trouble; he has served ten years as mayor of Nauvoo and several terms in the Illinois legislature.

Our letter would be too long if we should relate what we learned in regard to the "Jack-Mormons," the French Icarians, who purchased the walls of the Temple, after the building was burned by the hands of an incendiary, and others who have figured in the history of Nauvoo since the Saints were forced to leave. Suffice it to say that shortly after the exodus and after most of the so-called "Jack-Mormons" got discouraged and moved to other parts, the population of Nauvoo was reduced to about 300 souls, and property sold for almost a song. To illustrate we will simply state that a Mr. Reimbold, father of our informant, who came to Nauvoo in 1848, bought a

fine two-story log house—hewed logs at that—with floors and everything complete, for the sum of \$4. The present German population, who have come to stay, have done better than any of their predecessors since the Saints left, but even they cannot make it a place of any importance. No, that is reserved for “others” to do, and even these “others” can not do it till the Lord’s time comes.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 17.

A Neglected Cemetery—The Town of Carthage.—Interview with an Old Inciter to Mobocracy and Murder.—Significant Affidavits.—The Scene of the Martyrdom.

CARTHAGE, Hancock Co., Illinois,
October 8, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

Having hired Mr. C. W. Reimbold with his carriage to take us to Carthage and back, we left Nauvoo at 8 o’clock this morning. About one and a half miles east of the Temple block we crossed the little stream known in early days as Casper Creek, named in honor of Wm. Casper, a member of the Church, who lived near it. It is now called Chandler Creek. A little further out we came to the old graveyard, now locally known as the “Old Mormon burying ground,” where

Hundreds of faithful Saints have found
A cold, yet peaceful grave,
And there they now are sleeping
Beneath the silent clay;
But soon they’ll share the glories
Of a resurrection day.

The ground embraces, we should say, about twenty acres of land, and is covered with a thrifty growth of

young trees, mostly hickory, which have grown up since the Saints left Nauvoo. Thus, instead of an open prairie, with here and there a clump of hazel brush, there is now a shady grove. As we silently and in deep meditation groped our way among the trees, examining the inscriptions on the old weatherbeaten tombstones, a spirit of sadness came over us, and in beholding the neglected state of the sacred grounds, we thought of the many in far-off Utah that have friends and relatives buried here who would now no doubt be willing to render financial aid toward keeping the grounds in repair. Would it not be in keeping with our general respect for age and our high esteem for our noble predecessors to engage some one among the present residents of Nauvoo to keep the old “Mormon” burying ground in a better state of preservation? If it is neglected much longer the last trace of most of the graves will soon be obliterated forever. Already a great number of tombstones and headboards have been broken off and scattered all over the grounds, and the few which are still to be found on the spots where they originally were placed by loving hands stand so crooked and so hid up among the trees, brush and weeds, that it almost makes a person weep to see it. In our observations we came across a number of familiar names, and in a few instances we stopped to pull away the rubbish which at first impeded our approach.

About three miles out from Nauvoo we passed Joseph Smith’s old farm. It is now owned principally by a German whose name is Ranzmeier, and who lives in the same old farm house that in the days of Joseph

was occupied by Father Lott. It is one of the finest farms in the neighborhood, and after seeing it we can easily understand why the Prophet lingered to take a last look at it when he went to Carthage to give himself up to the governor on the 24th of June, 1844; and that he, when some of the brethren who were with him made remarks concerning his tardiness to proceed, said, "If some of you had got such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time." The whole stretch of country between Carthage and Nauvoo, with but very little exception, is one continuous plain; the soil is generally very rich and productive, and the farms seemed nearly all to be very extensive and well cultivated.

We passed on and arrived at Carthage about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. The distance from Nauvoo to Carthage was formerly 18 miles, but as the country has filled up with more settlers, and the farms have been fenced in, the road has been changed so as to conform to the section and quarter section lines; hence the distance is now fully 22 miles.

Carthage is a town of about 2,000 inhabitants, but has rather an old and neglected appearance. The streets are kept in a poor state of repair, and the plank sidewalks are full of holes and breaks, which make them quite dangerous for evening promenade. Nearly all the business houses are clustered around the court-house square, which is generally the case with all county seats of the same size both in Illinois and Missouri.

We first visited the old building which formerly was known as Ham-

ilton's Tavern, where Joseph and his brethren stopped before they, contrary to law, were taken to jail. The north wing of the building which faced the street northward has been moved, and the remaining west wing is used by the Hancock County Horse Company, who now owns it, as a carpenter and paint shop. It was continued as a hotel until four years ago, when Mr. C. S. Hamilton, the former owner, sold the property to the company named. The building stands half-a-block east of the public square, on the south side of North Main Street.

Learning that Thomas C. Sharp, the once notorious editor of the *Warsaw Signal* (who did, perhaps, as much as any other man to incite the populace to murder the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum) lived in Carthage and was editing the *Carthage Gazette*, we concluded to pay him a visit. We soon found both him and his office, and also his son, William Sharp, who acts as assistant editor to his father. We introduced ourselves as Elders from Utah, and shook hands with the old man, whose averdupois sums up to 241 pounds. He complained of being so heavy, saying he was at present gaining a pound a day. Mr. Sharp's features and general build are somewhat peculiar, but we shall not attempt to describe them. He was rather non-communicative, and was very careful in his expressions, but answered a few questions which we asked him in a straightforward manner. We did not, however, deem it wise to refer to what took place 44 years ago, although the scenes of 1844 were uppermost in our thoughts during our whole interview with him. Those who are familiar with the part

was occupied by Father Lott. It is one of the finest farms in the neighborhood, and after seeing it we can easily understand why the Peoplet haggerty to take a look at it when he went to Carthage to give himself up to the Governor on the 24th of June, 1844; and that he, when some of the brethren who were with him made remarks concerning his tardiness to proceed, said, "If some of you had got such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time." The whole stretch of country between Carthage and Navarro, with but very little exception, is one continuous plain; the soil is generally very rich and productive, and the farms seemed nearly all to be very extensive and well cultivated.

We passed on and arrived at Carthage about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. The distance from Navarro to Carthage was formerly 15 miles, but as the country has filled up with more settlers, and the farms have been tamed in, the road has been changed so as to conform to the section and quarter section lines; hence the distance is now only 12 miles.

Carthage is a town of about 2,000 inhabitants, but has rather an old and neglected appearance. The streets are kept in a poor state of repair, and the plank sidewalks are full of holes and breaks, which make them quite dangerous for evening promenades. Nearly all the business houses are clustered around the court-house square, which is generally the case with all county seats of the same size both in Illinois and Missouri.

We first visited the old building which formerly was known as Hamilton's Tavern, where Joseph and his brethren stopped before they, contrary to law, were taken to jail. The north wing of the building which faced the street northward has been moved, and the remaining west wing is used by the Hancock County House Company, who now own it, as a carpenter and paint shop. It was continued as a hotel until four years ago, when Mr. C. S. Hamilton, the former owner, sold the property to the company named. The building stands half-a-block east of the public square, on the south side of North Main Street.

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Mr. Sharp took in the affairs leading to the spilling of the best blood of the Nineteenth Century and the downfall of a once lovely and beautiful city, can easily imagine our feelings.

The junior Sharp treated us like a gentleman. "Do you think," said he, "that the Mormons would kill my father, if he was to visit Utah?" We replied that we were not a blood-thirsty people, and did not seek satisfaction in retaliation. The young man said that he believed his father was sincere in what he did. We did not dispute him. Others, who lived before the days of Mr. Sharp, believed that they were doing God's will when they killed His Prophets, and even the Savior himself. Of course they knew not what they were doing at the time, neither did Mr. Sharp.

Mr. Sharp was kind enough to show us a bound volume of the *Warsaw Signal* for 1844, and by looking over the file we soon found that extra number issued in June, 1844, in which the editor called upon the old citizens of Hancock County to exterminate the "Mormons." The readers of the *News* will remember that it was this article which was read to the Saints in Nauvoo; June 18, 1844, on the occasion when Joseph delivered his last public address, speaking to the Nauvoo Legion from the frame of an unfinished building.

Bound together with the *Signal* was a copy of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, that infamous sheet which was published by the apostates in Nauvoo, June 7, 1844, and which three days later was declared a nuisance by the city council and abated as such. We had long desired to peruse a copy, but never saw one until to-day, when

we were permitted to see the one in Mr. Sharp's possession. After reading some of its filthy contents, we could not blame our friends who sat in the Nauvoo city council for doing what they did. It was indeed a nuisance. But nasty as the sheet was, it nevertheless contains something which now can be used for altogether a different purpose to that which was originally intended. A number of people now living are inclined to disbelieve certain doctrines, because those who testify to their truth and to their having been taught and practiced by the Prophet Joseph are supposed to be in sympathy with said doctrines. What will those disbelievers do with the following affidavits, made subscribed and sworn to by some of the most bitter and avowed enemies the Prophet ever had. We copy them from the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

AFFIDAVITS.

"I hereby certify that Hyrum Smith did (in his office) read to me a certain written document which he said was a revelation from God; he said that he was with Joseph when it was received. He afterwards gave me the document to read, and I took it to my house, and read it and showed it to my wife and returned it next day. The revelation, so-called, authorized certain men to have more wives than one at a time, in this world and the world to come. It said this was the *law*, and commanded Joseph to enter into the *law*, and also that he should administer to others. Several other items were in the revelation, supporting the above doctrines.

WILLIAM LAW.

"State of Illinois,
Hancock County. }

"I, Robert D. Foster, certify that the above certificate was sworn to before me as true in substance, this 4th day of May, A. D. 1844.

"ROBERT D. FOSTER, J. P."

"I certify that I read the revelation referred to in the above affidavit of my husband; it sustained in strong terms the doctrine of more wives than one at a time in

this world and in the next. It authorized some to have to the number of ten, and set forth that those women who would not allow their husbands to have more wives than one should be under condemnation before God.

JANE LAW.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me this 4th day of May, A. D. 1844.

"ROBERT D. FOSTER, J. P."

"To all whom it may concern:

"Forasmuch as the public mind hath been much agitated by a course of procedure in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by a number of persons declaring against certain doctrine and practices therein (among whom I am one), it is but meet that I should give my reasons, at least in part, as a cause that hath led me to declare myself. In the latter part of the summer of 1843 the Patriarch Hyrum Smith did in the High Council, of which I was a member, introduce what he said was a revelation given through the Prophet; that the said Hyrum Smith did essay to read the said revelation in the said Council; that according to his reading there was contained the following doctrines: First, the sealing up of persons to eternal life against all sins, save that of shedding innocent blood, or of consenting thereto; second, the doctrine of plurality of wives or marrying virgins; that David and Solomon had many wives, yet in this they sinned not, save in the matter of Uriah. This revelation, with other evidence that the aforesaid heresies were taught and practiced in the Church, determined me to leave the office of First Counselor to the President of the church at Nauvoo, inasmuch as I dared not teach or administer such laws. And further deponent saith not.

"AUSTIN COWLES.

"State of Illinois. }

"Hancock County. }

"To all whom it may concern:

"I hereby certify that the above certificate was sworn and subscribed to before me this 4th day of May, A. D. 1844.

"ROBERT D. FOSTER, J. P."

Leaving Mr. Sharp's office we proceeded to the old Carthage Jail, the main object of our visit to the county seat of Hancock. Yes, there it stood, the old rock building, once a prison, but now transformed into a comfortable private residence, owned by James M. Browning, or rather by his wife Elizabeth Matthews Brown-

ing, her husband having deeded it to her. Many years ago the county sold the building and the lot upon which it stands to B. F. Patterson, who subsequently sold it to Mr. Browning. Mrs. Browning received us kindly and showed us about the premises. We went upstairs to the southeast upper room, where Joseph, Hyrum, John Taylor and Willard Richards were confined on the day of the martyrdom. We saw the hole through the door made by the bullet that killed Hyrum, examined the corner where Elder Taylor rolled under the bed; raised the window through which Joseph leaped, and was shown the exact place where the blood of Hyrum still stains the floor. The floor being carpeted, we did not see the stain, but Mrs. Browning assured us it was there yet and could not be washed away. The place where the well once was has been planted with flowers (lilies of the valley), and the good lady said she intended to continually keep a flower bed there in order to designate the spot. The building which stands on the north side of Walnut Street, or one block north and $1\frac{3}{4}$ blocks west of the northwest corner of the public square, is 34 feet long from north to south, and 28 feet wide from east to west; the south end stands 18 feet back from the street. The upper room in which the brethren were imprisoned is about 16 feet square. There are two windows on the south and one on the east, the latter being the one through which Joseph leaped. The room, we should judge, is about eight feet from floor to ceiling; it is now used as a bedroom.

We shall never forget Carthage, nor the scenes enacted there. Although none of us were there when

the blood of the Prophet was spilt, yet, with what we have read concerning it, and what we have seen to-day, we are enabled to grasp the situation thoroughly, and the whole tragedy which took place on the memorable 27th of June, 1844, seems to pass in review before the eyes of our imagination so plainly and impressively that the effects thereof surely will remain with us forever.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

LETTER 18.

The Iowa Site.—The Town of Montrose.—
The Old Site of Zarahemla.

MONTROSE, Lee Co., Iowa,
October 9, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

We returned from Carthage to Nauvoo yesterday evening and spent the night with Phineas Kimball who, together with his amiable wife and daughter, treated us very kindly. Mr. Kimball is the owner of about 800 acres of land in and around Nauvoo, and has a beautiful residence on the site of old Commerce. As a young man he participated in the Nauvoo battle in September, 1846, and has always been a friend to the Saints. This forenoon we completed our rounds of observation in Nauvoo, and left at 4:30 o'clock p. m., crossing the river on the ferry boat to Montrose, on the Iowa side, where we arrived about 5 o'clock. The river here is nearly two miles wide. No sooner had we arrived at Montrose than we discovered that we had forgotten an important parcel in the house of Mr. Bidamon. Consequently we procured a skiff and w

rowed back to Nauvoo once more, landing on our way on the wooded island in the middle of the river. Returning we had the pleasure of crossing the Mississippi River by moonlight, an opportunity which we enjoyed very much, as it was not only romantic, but reminded us of others who years ago crossed the river by night under peculiar circumstances.

Montrose is quite a city *on paper*, as everyone who see the "Illustrated Atlas of Lee County" would say; but when it comes to the reality, its number of inhabitants does not exceed 1000 souls; still it has been on the increase during the last few years. For a long time after the Saints left the place was almost deserted. It now has the advantage over Nauvoo of being a railway town, and the ferry crosses the river eight times every day. Excepting two or three wells, which are still used by the present inhabitants, there is no trace left of the old military barracks in which the Saints at an early day suffered so severely from the effects of fever and ague, but the exact place where they once stood has been pointed out to us by old settlers. It was near the present railway station, and the site is now embraced in blocks 13, 16, 21 and 22 of the Montrose survey.

A little north of Montrose, on the bank of the Potter Slough, a small arm of the Mississippi, are the grounds where the last remnants of the Saints, consisting of the sick and the poor, were camped after being expelled from Illinois, as the final result of the famous battle of Nauvoo. Here it was that the Saints, in their distressed condition, were temporarily relieved by the quails which came to the camps of the exiles in large

numbers, as if sent through the miraculous interposition of the Almighty to save His people from starvation. One of our party (Bishop Black), who was with and one of the Saints in that memorable camp, caught many of these birds himself. They were so tame that they allowed themselves to be caught easily, and a great number of them in descending struck the wagons and tent poles with such force that they rolled into the tents stunned or dead.

Taking the main street of Montrose, which runs from the river in a southwesterly direction for nearly a mile, we came to a wide road running northeast, to which the dignified name of Grand Avenue has been appended. Turning to the right and proceeding a few rods along said avenue, we came to a somewhat antique looking rock house with a frame addition, standing on the left hand side of the road. This is the only relic left of what once was a flourishing settlement of the Saints. It was the commencement of what would have grown to a large city—a sister city of Nauvoo on the other side of the river—had the Saints been permitted to remain. We refer to Zarahemla, a place settled under the direction of the Prophet, agreeable to a revelation, in the year 1841. During that year a Stake of Zion was organized here with John Smith, Joseph's uncle, as President. In obedience to the revelation the Saints in Iowa commenced to gather on to the site, and about thirty houses had been erected when the persecution put a stop to any further improvements. It was also here that Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Willard Richards spent the night between June 22nd and 23rd, having left Nauvoo the evening

previous with the intention of fleeing to the mountains, to escape the murderous plans of their enemies. It has always been a source of regret to some of the Saints that the Prophet did not carry out his intention on that memorable occasion, and that he through the persuasion of Emma Smith, his wife, and others was induced to return and trust to the protection of the governor. The idea occurs to many, even to this day, that had Joseph fled to the Rockies at that time, his life might have been spared many years longer. Be that as it may, it was no doubt a part of the programme that he should seal his testimony with his blood.

Those familiar with Church history will remember the remark Joseph made when he was returning slowly toward the river. "It's no use to hurry, for we are going back to be slaughtered;" "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself," are utterances which never will be forgotten by the Saints. Joseph's nature was aroused at the merest mention of his being a coward and that he wanted to run away from the flock when the wolves were threatening the sheep. Rather than to lay himself liable to any such accusation he prepared to go as a lamb to the slaughter, and he did.

Zarahemla, like the great Nephite capital after which it was named, is no more; but we predict it shall arise phoenix-like at some future day, and that the words of the Lord concerning it shall be honored and fulfilled. The site is most delightful for the centre of a large town, and when a Temple shall have been built on the site which was selected by the Prophet on a neighboring bluff overlooking the lower lands between it

and the river, then Zarahemla shall fully come up to the expectation of her original founders, and be numbered among the great cities of the Millennium.

About three miles below Montrose is the town of Nashville, which on the 24th of June, 1839, was bought by the Church together with 20,000 acres of land adjoining it. Here also quite a number of Saints resided in the good old days. After the exodus the place went down like all the other settlements of the Saints, but since the completion of the Des Moines Rapids Canal, at the upper end of which it is so pleasantly located, it has rather revived, and now has a population of three hundred souls.

Taking it altogether Lee County, Iowa, is a fine country, and has now a population of 40,000. There are a number of prosperous towns and hundreds of excellent farms. Many of the latter are for sale.

We have only been here (Montrose) a few hours, but have already found a number of friends, who take a deep interest in giving us all the information they can concerning matters in which we are interested. "Do you ever expect to come back to this country?" has been asked us by several persons. We answered one man, "Yes, most assuredly; we have got to come and build Zarahemla, and then we will remember Montrose as one of her suburbs; perhaps we will include it in the new corporation, and call it Lower Zarahemla." Our friends thought there would be no inclination now on the part of the present inhabitants to mob us, should we come back, as they would undoubtedly be in favor of the boom in real estate which we

would naturally bring with us. We suggested that the old mobocratic spirit was not dead yet, and would not die as long as the devil had power to tempt the children of men; and that should the Saints return at the present time the old spirit of hatred would be pretty sure to show itself anew.

From Montrose we go to Keokuk, thence to Eldon, Iowa, where our little party will be dissolved, and each go on his way rejoicing. We have had a good time together. Seldom, if ever, have three brethren labored together with better feelings and been more unanimous in every move made, than has your humble servants who now have visited nearly every important place connected with the early history of the Latter-day Saints and the life of Joseph the Prophet. We feel that the Lord has been with us, and that He has crowned our labors with success. We trust that the information which we have gained may be of benefit to the Saints hereafter. To the Lord and His kind providence in our behalf we ascribe all the honor and glory.

Your brethren in the Gospel of Christ.

ANDREW JENSON,
EDWARD STEVENSON,
JOSEPH S. BLACK.

Separating at Eldon, Iowa, according to previous arrangement, Elder Black proceeded to Council Bluffs to visit some relatives, while Elders Stevenson and Jenson visited Richmond and Kansas City, Mo., and other places on the homeward journey, and arrived safely in Salt Lake City Oct. 15, 1888. Elder Black had arrived there the day previous.

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From Montrose we go to Hesperia, thence to Ridge, Iowa, where our little party will be dispersed, and each go on his way rejoicing. We have had a good time together. Indeed, if ever, have three brethren bonded together with better feelings and more harmonious in every more made than has your humble servants who now have visited nearly every important place connected with the early history of the Latter-day Saints and the life of Joseph the Prophet. We feel that the Lord has been with us, and that He has crowned our labors with success. We trust that the information which we have gained may be of benefit to the Saints scattered to the four and His kind providence in our behalf. We describe all the honor and glory. Your brethren in the Gospel at

Chicago.
Andrew Jackson,
Nathan Stephens,
Joseph S. Henson.
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About three miles below Montrose is the town of Katschamba, which on the 21st of June, 1853, was bought by the Church together with 20,000 acres of land adjoining it. There also galles a number of Saints resided in the good old days. After the exodus the place went down like all the other settlements of the Saints, but since the completion of the Des Moines Rapids Canal, at the upper end of which it is so pleasantly located, it has rather revived, and now has a population of three hundred souls.

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